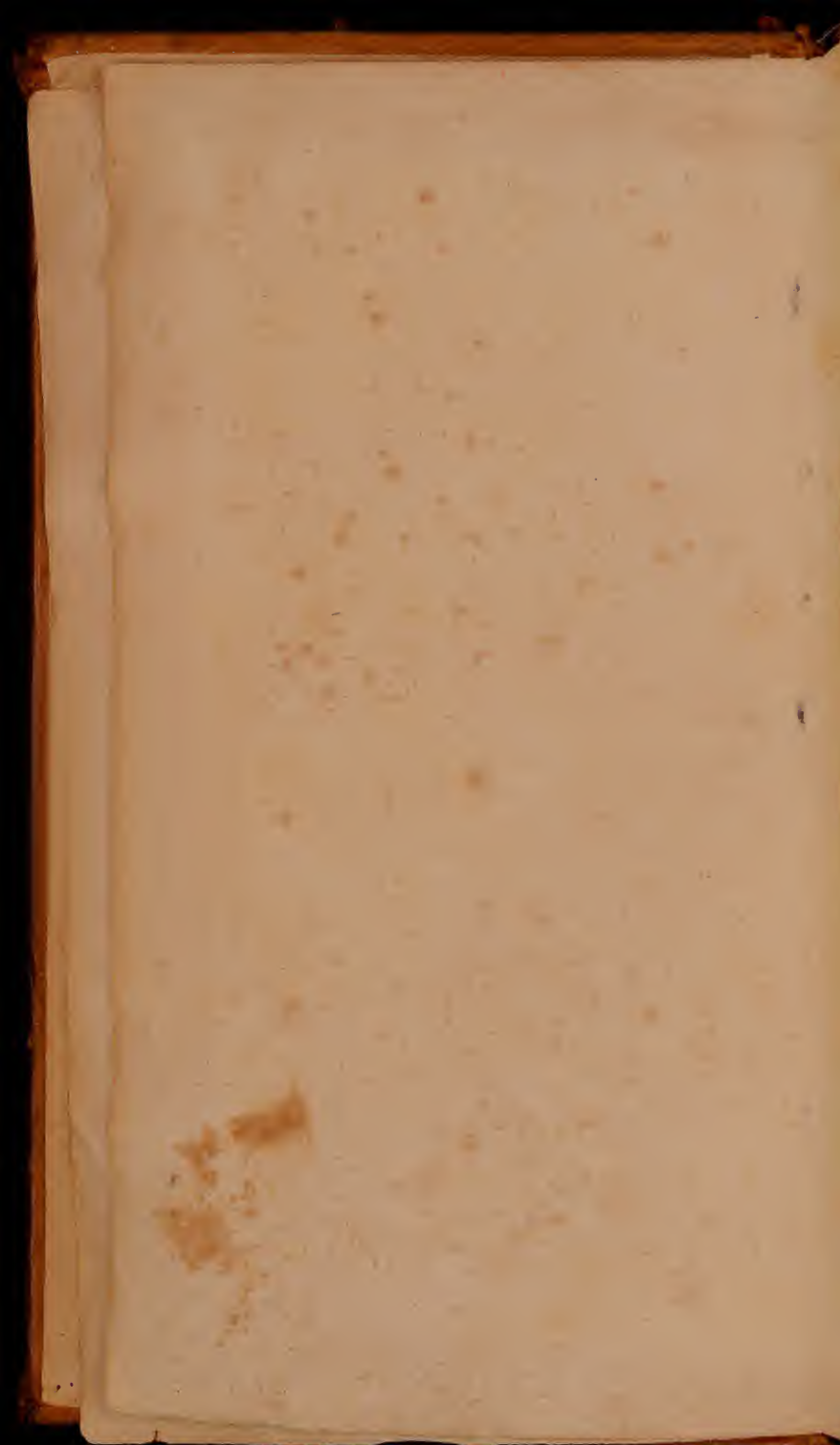


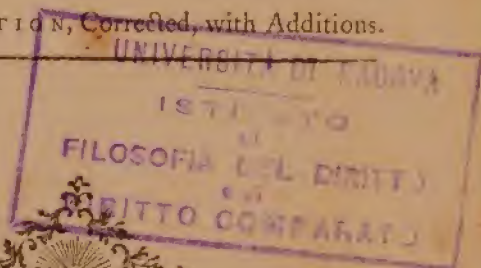
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ESSAYS, M O R A L AND P O L I T I C A L.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

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ESSAY I.

Of the DELICACY *of* TASTE and PASSION.

THERE is a certain *Delicacy of Passion*, to which some People are subject, that makes them extremely sensible to all the Accidents of Life, and gives them a lively Joy upon every prosperous Event, as well as a piercing Grief, when they meet with Crosses and Adversity. Favours and Good Offices easily engage their Friendship; while the smallest Injury provokes their Resentment. Any Honour or Mark of Distinction elevates them above Measure; but they are as sensibly touch'd with Contempt. People of this Character have, no doubt, much more lively Enjoyments, as well as more pungent Sorrows, than Men of more cool and sedate Tempers: But, I believe, when every thing is balanc'd, there is no one, that would not rather chuse to be of the latter Character, were he entirely Master of his own Disposition. Good or ill Fortune is very little at our own Disposal: And when a Person, that has this Sensibility of Temper, meets with any Misfortune, his Sorrow or Resentment takes intire Possession of him, and deprives him of all Relish in the

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common

common Occurrences of Life ; the right Enjoyment of which forms the greatest Part of our Happiness. Great Pleasures are much less frequent than great Pains ; so that a sensible Temper must meet with fewer Trials in the former Way than in the latter. Not to mention, that Men of such lively Passions are apt to be transported beyond all Bounds of Prudence and Discretion, and to take false Steps in the Conduct of Life, which are often irretrievable.

THERE is a *Delicacy of Taste* observable in some Men, which very much resembles this *Delicacy of Passion*, and produces the same Sensibility to Beauty and Deformity of every Kind, as that does to Prosperity and Adversity, Obligations and Injuries. When you present a Poem or a Picture to a Man possess'd of this Talent, the Delicacy of his Feeling, or Sentiments, makes him be touched very sensibly by every Part of it ; nor are the masterly Strokes perceived with a more exquisite Relish and Satisfaction, than the Negligences or Absurdities with Disgust and Uneasiness. A polite and judicious Conversation affords him the highest Entertainment ; Rudeness or Impertinence is as great a Punishment to him. In short, Delicacy of Taste has the same Effect as Delicacy of Passion : It enlarges the Sphere both of our Happiness and Misery, and makes us sensible of Pains, as well as Pleasures, that escape the rest of Mankind.

I BELIEVE, however, there is no one, who will not agree with me, that notwithstanding this Resemblance,

semblance, a Delicacy of Taste is as much to be desired and cultivated as a Delicacy of Passion is to be lamented, and to be remedied, if possible. The good or ill Accidents of Life are very little at our Disposal; but we are pretty much Masters what Books we shall read, what Diversions we shall partake of, and what Company we shall keep. The ancient Philosophers endeavour'd to render Happiness entirely independent of every Thing external. That is impossible to be *attain'd*: But every wise Man will endeavour to place his Happiness on such Objects as depend most upon himself: And *that* is not to be *attain'd* so much by any other Means as by this Delicacy of Sentiment. When a Man is possess'd of that Talent, he is more happy by what pleases his Taste, than by what gratifies his Appetites, and receives more Enjoyment from a Poem or a Piece of Reasoning than the most expensive Luxury can afford.

How far the Delicacy of Taste, and that of Passion, are connected together in the original Frame of the Mind, it is hard to determine. To me there appears to be a very considerable Connexion betwixt them. For we may observe that Women, who have more delicate Passions than Men, have also a more delicate Taste of the Ornaments of Life, of Dress, Equipage, and the ordinary Decencies of Behaviour. Any Excellency in these hits their Taste much sooner than ours; and when you please their Taste, you soon engage their Affections.

BUT whatever Connexion there may be originally betwixt these Dispositions, I am persuaded, that nothing is so proper to cure us of this Delicacy of Passion, as the cultivating of that higher and more refined Taste, which enables us to judge of the Characters of Men, of Compositions of Genius, and of the Productions of the nobler Arts. A greater or less Relish of those obvious Beauties that strike the Senses, depends entirely upon the greater or less Sensibility of the Temper: But, with Regard to the Liberal Arts and the Sciences, a fine Taste is really nothing but strong Sense, or at least depends so much upon it, that they are inseparable. To judge aright of a Composition of Genius, there are so many Views to be taken in, so many Circumstances to be compared, and such a Knowledge of human Nature requisite, that no Man, who is not possess'd of the soundest Judgment, will ever make a tolerable Critic in such Performances. And this is a new Reason for cultivating a Relish in the Liberal Arts. Our Judgment will strengthen by this Exercise: We shall form truer Notions of Life: Many Things, which rejoice or afflict others, will appear to us too frivolous to engage our Attention: And we shall lose by Degrees that Sensibility and Delicacy of Passion, which is so incommodious.

BUT perhaps I have gone too far in saying, That a cultivated Taste for the polite Arts extinguishes the passions, and renders us indifferent to those Objects which are so fondly pursued by the rest of Mankind. When I reflect a little more, I find, that it rather

rather improves our Sensibility for all the tender and agreeable Passions ; at the same Time that it renders the Mind incapable of the rougher and more boisterous Emotions.

*Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec fuit esse feros.*

FOR this, I think there may be assign'd two very natural Reasons. In the *first* Place, nothing is so improving to the Temper as the Study of the Beauties, either of Poetry, Eloquence, Musick, or Painting. They give a certain Elegance of Sentiments which the rest of Mankind are entire Strangers to. The Emotions they excite are soft and tender. They draw the Mind off from the Hurry of Business and Interest ; cherish Reflection ; dispose to Tranquillity ; and produce an agreeable Melancholy, which, of all Dispositions of the Mind, is the best suited to Love and Friendship.

IN the *second* Place, a Delicacy of Taste is favourable to Love and Friendship, by confining our Choice to few People, and making us indifferent to the Company and Conversation of the greatest Part of Men. You will very seldom find, that mere Men of the World, whatever strong Sense they may be endowed with, are very nice in distinguishing of Characters, or in marking those insensible Differences and Gradations which make one Man preferable to another. Any one, that has competent Sense, is sufficient for their Entertainment : They talk to him, of their Pleasure and Affairs, with the same Frankness as

they would to any other : And finding many, that are fit to supply his Place, they never feel any Vacancy or Want in his Absence. But to make Use of the Allusion of a famous * *French* Author, the Judgment may be compared to a Clock or Watch, where the most ordinary Machine is sufficient to tell the Hours ; but the most elaborate and artificial can only point out the Minutes and Seconds, and distinguish the smallest Differences of Time. One that has well digested his Knowledge both of Books and Men, has little Enjoyment but in the Company of a few select Companions. He feels too sensibly, how much all the rest of Mankind fall short of the Notions he has entertained. And, his Affections being thus confined in a narrow Circle, no Wonder he carries them further than if they were more general and undistinguished. The Gaiety and Frolick of a Bottle-Companion improves with him into a solid Friendship : And the Ardours of a youthful Appetite become an elegant Passion,

* *Mons. Fontenelle, Pluralité des Mondes. Seis 6.*

ESSAY II.

Of the LIBERTY of the PRESS.

THERE is nothing more apt to surprize a Foreigner, than the extreme Liberty we enjoy in this Country, of communicating whatever we please to the Publick, and of openly censuring every Measure which is enter'd into by the King or his Ministers. If the Administration resolve upon War, 'tis affirm'd, that either wilfully or ignorantly they mistake the Interest of the Nation, and that Peace, in the present Situation of Affairs, is infinitely preferable. If the Passion of the Ministers be for Peace, our Political Writers breathe nothing but War and Devastation, and represent the pacifick Conduct of the Government as mean and pusillanimous. As this Liberty is not indulg'd in any other Government, either Republican or Monarchical; in *Holland* and *Venice*, no more than in *France* or *Spain*; it may very naturally give Occasion to these two Questions, *How it happens that Great Britain enjoys such a peculiar Privilege?* and, *Whether the unlimited Exercise of this Liberty be advantageous or prejudicial to the Publick?*

As to the first Question, Why the Laws indulge us in such an extraordinary Liberty? I believe the

Reason may be deriv'd from our mix'd Form of Government, which is neither wholly Monarchical, nor wholly Republican. 'Twill be found, if I mistake not, to be a true Observation in Politicks, That the two Extremes in Government, of Liberty and Slavery, approach nearest to each other; and, that as you depart from the Extremes, and mix a little of Monarchy with Liberty, the Government becomes always the more free; and, on the other Hand, when you mix a little of Liberty with Monarchy, the Yoke becomes always the more grievous and intolerable. I shall endeavour to explain myself. In a Government, such as that of *France*, which is entirely absolute, and where Laws, Custom, and Religion, all concur to make the People fully satisfied with their Condition, the Monarch cannot entertain the least *Jealousy* against his Subjects, and therefore is apt to indulge them in great *Liberties* both of Speech and Action. In a Government altogether Republican, such as that of *Holland*, where there is no Magistrate so eminent as to give *Jealousy* to the State, there is also no Danger in intrusting the Magistrates with very large discretionary Powers; and tho' many Advantages result from such Powers, in the Preservation of Peace and Order; yet they lay a considerable Restraint on Mens Actions, and make every private Subject pay a great Respect to the Government. Thus it is evident, that the two Extremes, of absolute Monarchy and of a Republic, approach very near to each other in the most material Circumstances. In the *first*, the Magistrate has no Jealousy of the People: In the *second*, the People have no Jealousy of the Magistrate:

gistrate : Which want of Jealousy begets a mutual Confidence and Trust in both Cases, and produces a Species of Liberty in Monarchies, and of arbitrary Power in Republics.

To justify the other Part of the foregoing Observation, that in every Government the Means are most wide of each other, and that the Mixtures of Monarchy and Liberty render the Yoke either more easy or more grievous ; I must take Notice of a Remark of *Tacitus* with Regard to the *Romans* under their Emperors, that they neither could bear total Slavery nor total Liberty, *Nec totam servitutem, nec totam libertatem pati possunt*. This Remark a famous Poet has translated and applied to the *English*, in his admirable Description of Queen *Elizabeth's* Policy and Government.

*Et fit aimer son joug a l'Anglois indompté,
Qui ne peut ni servir, ni vivre en liberté.*

HENRIADE, *Liv. I.*

ACCORDING to these Remarks, we are to consider the *Roman* Government under the Emperors as a Mixture of Despotism and Liberty, where the Despotism prevailed ; and the *English* Government as a Mixture of the same Kind, but where the Liberty predominates. The Consequences are exactly conformable to the foregoing Observation ; and such as may be expected from those mixed Forms of Government, which beget a mutual Watchfulness and Jealousy. The *Roman* Emperors were, many of

them, the most frightful Tyrants that ever disgraced Humanity ; and 'tis evident their Cruelty was chiefly excited by their *Jealousy*, and by their observing, that all the great Men of *Rome* bore with Impatience the Dominion of a Family, which, but a little before, was no ways superior to their own. On the other Hand, as the Republican Part of the Government prevails in *England*, tho' with a great Mixture of Monarchy, 'tis obliged, for its own Preservation, to maintain a watchful *Jealousy* over the Magistrates, to remove all discretionary Powers, and to secure every one's Life and Fortune by general and inflexible Laws. No Action must be deemed a Crime but what the Law has plainly determined to be such : No Crime must be imputed to a Man but from a legal Proof before his Judges : And even these Judges must be his Fellow-Subjects, who are obliged, by their own Interest, to have a watchful Eye over the Encroachments and Violence of the Ministers. From these Causes it proceeds, that there is as much Liberty, and even, perhaps, Licentiousness in *Britain*, as there were formerly Slavery and Tyranny in *Rome*.

THESE Principles account for the great Liberty of the Press in these Kingdoms, beyond what is indulg'd in any other Government. 'Tis sufficiently known, that despotic Power would steal in upon us, were we not extreme watchful to prevent its Progress, and were there not an easy Method of conveying the Alarm from one End of the Kingdom to the other. The Spirit of the People must frequently be rous'd to curb the Ambition of the Court ; and the Dread
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of rousing this Spirit, must be employ'd to prevent that Ambition. Nothing is so effectual to this Purpose as the Liberty of the Press, by which all the Learning, Wit, and Genius of the Nation may be employ'd on the Side of Liberty, and every one be animated to its Defence. As long, therefore, as the Republican Part of our Government can maintain itself against the Monarchical, it must be extreme jealous of the Liberty of the Press, as of the utmost Importance to its Preservation.

SINCE therefore the Liberty of the Press is so essential to the Support of our mix'd Government; this sufficiently decides the second Question, *Whether this Liberty be advantageous or prejudicial*; there being nothing of greater Importance in every State than the Preservation of the ancient Government, especially if it be a free one. But I would fain go a Step farther, and assert, that such a Liberty is attended with so few inconveniencies, that it may be claim'd as the common Right of Mankind, and ought to be indulg'd them almost in every Government; except the Ecclesiastical, to which indeed it would be fatal. We need not dread from this Liberty any such ill Consequences as follow'd from the Harangues of the popular Demagogues of *Athens* and Tribunes of *Rome*. A Man reads a Book or Pamphlet alone and coolly. There is none present from whom he can catch the Passion by Contagion. He is not hurry'd away by the Force and Energy of Action. And should he be wrought up to never so seditious a Humour, there is no violent Resolution pre-

vented to him, by which he can immediately vent his Passion. The Liberty of the Press, therefore, however abus'd, can scarce ever excite popular Tumults or Rebellion. And as to those Murmurs or secret Discontents it may occasion, 'tis better they should get Vent in Words, that they may come to the Knowledge of the Magistrate before it be too late, in order to his providing a Remedy against them. Mankind, 'tis true, have always a greater Propension to believe what is said to the Disadvantage of their Governors, than the contrary; but this Inclination is inseparable from them, whether they have Liberty or not. A Whisper may fly as quick, and be as pernicious as a Pamphlet. Nay, it will be more pernicious, where Men are not accustom'd to think freely, or distinguish betwixt Truth and Falshood.

It has also been found, as the Experience of Mankind increases, that the *People* are no such dangerous Monster as they have been represented, and that 'tis in every Respect better to guide them, like rational Creatures, than to lead or drive them, like brute Beasts. Before the united Provinces set the Example, Toleration was deem'd incompatible with good Government; and 'twas thought impossible, that a Number of religious Sects could live together in Harmony and Peace, and have all of them an equal Affection to their common Country, and to each other. *England* has set a like Example of civil Liberty; and tho' this Liberty seems to occasion some small Ferment at present, it has not as yet produced any pernicious Effects; and it is to be hoped, that
Men,

Men, being every Day more accustomed to the free Discussion of public Affairs, will improve in their Judgment of them, and be with greater Difficulty seduced by every idle Rumour and popular Clamour.

'Tis a very comfortable Reflection to the Lovers of Liberty, that this peculiar Privilege of *Britain* is of a Kind that cannot easily be wrested from us, but must last as long as our Government remains, in any Degree, free and independent. 'Tis seldom, that Liberty of any Kind is lost all at once. Slavery has so frightful an Aspect to Men accustomed to Freedom, that it must steal in upon them by Degrees, and must disguise itself in a thousand Shapes, in order to be received. But, if the Liberty of the Press ever be lost, it must be lost at once. The general Laws against Sedition and Libelling are at present as strong as they possibly can be made. Nothing can impose a farther Restraint, but either the clapping an IMPRIMATUR upon the Press, or the giving very large discretionary Powers to the Court to punish whatever displeases them. But these Concessions would be such a bare-fac'd Violation of Liberty, that they will probably be the last Efforts of a despotic Government. We may conclude, that the Liberty of *Britain* is gone for ever when these Attempts shall succeed.

ESSAY III.

Of IMPUDENCE and MODESTY.

I AM of Opinion, That the Complaints against Providence have been often ill-grounded, and that the good or bad Qualities of Men are the Causes of their good or bad Fortune, more than what is generally imagined. There are, no Doubt, Instances to the contrary, and pretty numerous ones too ; but few, in Comparison of the Instances we have of a right Distribution of Prosperity and Adversity : Nor indeed could it be otherwise from the common Course of human Affairs. To be endowed with a benevolent Disposition, and to love others, will almost infallibly procure Love and Esteem ; which is the chief Circumstance in Life, and facilitates every Enterprize and Undertaking ; besides the Satisfaction, which immediately results from it. The Case is much the same with the other Virtues. Prosperity is naturally, tho' not necessarily attached to Virtue and Merit ; and Adversity, in like Manner, to Vice and Folly.

I MUST, however, confess, that this Rule admits of an Exception, with Regard to one moral Quality ; and that *Modesty* has a natural Tendency to conceal

ceal a Man's Talents, as *Impudence* displays them to the utmost, and has been the only Cause why many have risen in the World, under all the Disadvantages of low Birth and little Merit. Such Indolence and Incapacity is there in the Generality of Mankind, that they are apt to receive a Man for whatever he has a Mind to put himself off for; and admit his over-bearing Airs as Proofs of that Merit which he assumes to himself. A decent Assurance seems to be the natural Attendant of Virtue; and few Men can distinguish *Impudence* from it: As, on the other Hand, *Diffidence*, being the natural Result of Vice and Folly, has drawn Disgrace upon Modesty, which in outward Appearance so nearly resembles it.

As *Impudence*, tho' really a Vice, has the same Effects upon a Man's Fortune, as if it were a Virtue; so we may observe, that it is almost as difficult to be attain'd, and is, in that Respect, distinguish'd from all the other Vices, which are acquired with little Pains, and continually encrease upon Indulgence. Many a Man, being sensible that Modesty is extremely prejudicial to him in the making his Fortune, has resolv'd to be impudent, and to put a bold Face upon the Matter: But, 'tis observable, that such People have seldom succeeded in the Attempt, but have been oblig'd to relapse into their primitive Modesty. Nothing carries a Man thro' the World like a true genuine natural *Impudence*. Its Counterfeit is good for nothing, nor can ever support itself. In any other Attempt, whatever Faults a Man commits and is sensible of, he is so much the nearer his End.

But

But when he endeavours at Impudence, if he ever fail'd in the Attempt, the Remembrance of that Failure will make him blush, and will infallibly disconcert him : After which every Blush is a Cause for new Blushes, 'till he be found out to be an arrant Cheat, and a vain Pretender to Impudence.

IF any thing can give a modest Man more Assurance, it must be some Advantages of Fortune, which Chance procures to him. Riches naturally gain a Man a favourable Reception in the World, and give Merit a double Lustre, when a Person is endowed with it ; and supply its Place, in a great Measure, when it is absent. 'Tis wonderful to observe what Airs of Superiority Fools and Knaves, with large Possessions, give themselves above Men of the greatest Merit in Poverty. Nor do the Men of Merit make any strong Opposition to these Usurpations ; or rather seem to favour them by the Modesty of their Behaviour. Their good Sense and Experience make them diffident of their Judgment, and cause them to examine every thing with the greatest Accuracy : As, on the other Hand, the Delicacy of their Sentiments makes them timorous lest they commit Faults, and lose in the Practice of the World that Integrity of Virtue, so to speak, of which they are so jealous. To make Wisdom agree with Confidence, is as difficult as to reconcile Vice and Modesty.

THESE are the Reflections that have occur'd to me upon this Subject of Impudence and Modesty ;
and

and I hope the Reader will not be displeased to see them wrought into the following Allegory.

JUPITER, in the Beginning, joined VIRTUE, WISDOM and CONFIDENCE together; and VICE, FOLLY, and DIFFIDENCE: And in that Society set them upon the Earth. But though he thought he had matched them with great Judgment, and said that *Confidence* was the natural Companion of *Virtue*, and that *Vice* deserved to be attended with *Diffidence*, they had not gone far before Dissension arose among them. *Wisdom*, who was the Guide of the one Company, was always accustomed, before she ventured upon any Road, however beaten, to examine it carefully; to enquire whither it led; what Dangers, Difficulties and Hindrances might possibly or probably occur in it. In these Deliberations she usually consum'd some Time; which Delay was very displeasing to *Confidence*, who was always inclin'd to hurry on, without much Forethought or Deliberation, in the first Road he met. *Wisdom* and *Virtue* were inseparable: But *Confidence* one Day, following his impetuous Nature, advanc'd a considerable Way before his Guides and Companions; and not feeling any Want of their Company, he never enquir'd after them, nor ever met with them more. In like Manner the Society, tho' join'd by *Jupiter*, disagreed and separated. As *Folly* saw very little Way before her, she had nothing to determine concerning the Goodness of Roads, nor could give the Preference to one above another; and this Want of Resolution was encreas'd by *Diffidence*, who, with her Doubts and Scruples,

ples, always retarded the Journey. This was a great Annoyance to *Vice*, who lov'd not to hear of Difficulties and Delays, and was never satisfy'd without his full Career, in whatever his Inclinations led him to. *Folly*, he knew, tho' she hearken'd to *Diffidence*, would be easily manag'd when alone; and therefore, as a vicious Horse throws his Rider, he openly beat away this Controller of all his Pleasures, and proceeded in his Journey with *Folly*, from whom he is inseparable. *Confidence* and *Diffidence* being, after this Manner, both thrown loose from their respective Companies, wander'd for some Time; till at last Chance had led them at the same Time to one Village. *Confidence* went directly up to the great House, which belong'd to *WEALTH*, the Lord of the Village; and without staying for a Porter, intruded himself immediately into the innermost Apartments, where he found *Vice* and *Folly* well receiv'd before him. He join'd the Train; recommended himself very quickly to his Landlord; and enter'd into such Familiarity with *Vice*, that he was enlisted in the same Company with *Folly*. They were frequent Guests of *Wealth*, and from that Moment inseparable. *Diffidence*, in the mean Time, not daring to approach the Great House, accepted of an Invitation from *POVERTY*, one of the Tenants; and entering the Cottage, found *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, who being repuls'd by the Landlord, had retir'd thither. *Virtue* took Compassion of her, and *Wisdom* found, from her Temper, that she would easily improve: So they admitted her into their Society. Accordingly, by their Means, she alter'd in a little Time somewhat
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of her Manner, and becoming much more amiable and engaging, was now called by the Name of MODESTY. As ill Company has a greater Effect than good, *Confidence*, tho' more refractory to Counsel and Example, degenerated so far by the Society of *Vice* and *Folly*, as to pass by the Name of IMPUDENCE. Mankind, who saw these Societies as *Jupiter* first join'd them, and know nothing of these mutual Desertions, are led into strange Mistakes by those Means; and wherever they see *Impudence*, make account of *Virtue* and *Wisdom*, and wherever they observe *Modesty*, call her Attendants *Vice* and *Folly*.

ESSAY IV.

*That POLITICS may be reduc'd to a
SCIENCE.*

IT is a great Question with several, Whether there be any essential Difference betwixt one Form of Government and another ? and, Whether every Form may not become good or bad, according as it is well or ill administred *? Were it once admitted, that all Governments are alike, and that the only Difference consists in the Character and Conduct of the Governors, most political Disputes would be at an End, and all Zeal for one Constitution above another must be esteem'd mere Bigotry and Folly. But tho' I be a Friend to *Moderation*, I cannot forbear condemning this Sentiment, and should be sorry to think, that human Affairs admit of no greater Stability, than what they receive from the casual Humours and Characters of particular Men.

'Tis true, those who maintain, that the Goodness of all Government consists in the Goodness of the

* For Forms of Government let Fools contest :
Whate'er is best administred is best.

ESSAY ON MAN, Book 3.

Admini-

Administration, may cite many particular Instances in History where the very same Government, in different Hands, varies suddenly into the two opposite Extremes of good and bad. Compare the *French* Government under *Henry III.* and under *Henry IV.* Oppression, Levity, Artifice on the Part of the Rulers; Faction, Sedition, Treachery, Rebellion, Disloyalty on the Part of the Subjects: These compose the Character of the former miserable *Æra.* But when the Patriot and heroic Prince, who succeeded, was once firmly seated on the Throne, the Government, the People, every thing seem'd to be totally chang'd, and all from the Difference of the Temper and Sentiments of these two Sovereigns. An equal Difference of a contrary Kind, may be found in comparing the Reigns of *Elizabeth* and *James*, at least with Regard to foreign Affairs; and Instances of this Kind may be multiply'd, almost without Number, from antient as well as modern History.

BUT here I would beg Leave to make a Distinction. All absolute Governments (and such the *English* Government was, in a great Measure, till the Middle of the last Century, notwithstanding of the numerous Panegyrics on the antient *English* Liberty) must very much depend on the Administration; and this is one of the great Inconveniences of that Form of Government. But a Republican and free Government would be a most glaring Absurdity, if the particular Checks and Controuls, provided by the Constitution, had really no Influence, and made it not the Interest, even of bad Men, to operate for the
public

public Good. Such is the Intention of these Forms of Government, and such is their real Effect, where they are wisely constituted : As, on the other Hand, they are the Sources of all Disorder, and of the blackest Crimes, where either Skill or Honesty has been wanting in their original Frame and Institution.

So great is the Force of Laws, and of particular Forms of Government, and so little Dependence have they on the Humours and Temper of Men, that Consequences almost as general and certain may be deduced from them, on most Occasions, as any which the Mathematical Sciences afford us.

THE *Roman* Government gave the whole Legislative Power to the Commons, without allowing a Negative either to the Nobility, or Consuls. This unbounded Power the Commons possessed in a collective Body, not in a Representative. The Consequences were : When the People, by Success and Conquest, had become very numerous, and had spread themselves to a great Distance from the Capital, the City Tribes, tho' the most contemptible, carried almost every Vote : They were, therefore, most cajoled by every one who affected Popularity : They were supported in Idleness by the general Distribution of Corn, and by particular Bribes, which they received from almost every Candidate : By this Means they became every Day more licentious, and the *Campus Martius* was a perpetual Scene of Tumult and Sedition : Armed Slaves were introduced among these rascally Citizens ; so that the whole Govern-

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ment fell into Anarchy, and the greatest Happiness the *Romans* could look for, was the despotic Power of the *Cæsars*. Such are the Effects of Democracy without a Representative.

A NOBILITY may possess the Whole, or any Part of the legislative, Power of a State, after two different Ways. Either every Nobleman shares the Power as Part of the whole Body, or the whole Body enjoys the Power as composed of Parts, which have each a distinct Power and Authority. The *Venetian* Nobility are an Instance of the first Kind of Government: The *Polish* of the second. In the *Venetian* Government the whole Body of Nobility possesses the whole Power, and no Nobleman has any Authority which he receives not from the Whole. In the *Polish* Government every Nobleman, by Means of his Fiefs, has a peculiar hereditary Authority over his Vassals, and the whole Body has no Authority but what it receives from the Concurrence of its Parts. The distinct Operations and Tendencies of these two Species of Government might be made most apparent even *a priori*. A *Venetian* Nobility is infinitely preferable to a *Polish*, let the Humours and Education of Men be ever so much vary'd. A Nobility, who possess their Power in common, will preserve Peace and Order, both among themselves, and their Subjects; and no Member can have Authority enough to controul the Laws for a Moment. They will preserve their Authority over the People, but without any grievous Tyranny, or any Breach of private Property; because such a tyrannical Government is
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not the Interest of the whole Body, however it may be the Interest of some Individuals. There will be a Distinction of Rank betwixt the Nobility and People, but this will be the only Distinction in the State. The whole Nobility will form one Body, and the whole People another, without any of those private Feuds and Animosities, which spread Ruin and Desolation every where. 'Tis easy to see the Disadvantages of a *Polish* Nobility in every one of these Particulars.

'Tis possible so to constitute a free Government, as that a single Person, call him Duke, Prince, or King, shall possess a very large Share of the Power, and shall form a proper Balance or Counterpoise to the other Parts of the Legislature. This chief Magistrate may be either *elective* or *hereditary*; and tho' the former Institution may, to a superficial View, appear most advantageous; yet a more accurate Inspection will discover in it greater Inconveniencies than in the latter, and such as are founded on Causes and Principles eternal and immutable. The filling of the Throne, in such a Government, is a Point of too great and too general Interest, not to divide the whole People into Factions: From whence a Civil War, the greatest of Ills, may be apprehended, almost with Certainty, upon every Vacancy. The Prince elected must be either a *Foreigner* or a *Native*: The former will be ignorant of the People whom he is to govern; suspicious of his new Subjects, and suspected by them; giving his Confidence entirely to Strangers, who will have no other Thoughts but of enriching themselves in the quickest Manner, while their Master's Favour

and Authority are able to support them. A Native will carry into the Throne all his private Animosities and Friendships, and will never be regarded, in his Elevation, without exciting the Sentiments of Envy in those, who formerly consider'd him as their Equal. Not to mention, that a Crown is too high a Reward ever to be given to Merit alone, and will always induce the Candidates to employ Force, or Money, or Intrigue, to procure the Votes of the Electors : So that such a Choice will give no better Chance for a superior Merit in the Prince, than if the State had trusted to Birth alone to determine their Sovereign.

It may therefore be pronounced as an universal Axiom in Politics, *That an hereditary Prince, a Nobility without Vassals, and a People voting by their Representatives, form the best MONARCHY, ARISTOCRACY, and DEMOCRACY.* But in order to prove more fully, that Politics admit of general Truths, which are invariable by the Humour or Education either of Subject or Sovereign, it may not be amiss to observe some other Principles of this Science, which may seem to deserve that Character.

It may easily be observ'd, that though free Governments have been commonly the most happy for those who partake of their Freedom ; yet they are the most ruinous and oppressive for their Provinces : And this Observation may, I believe, be fix'd as a Maxim of the Kind we are here speaking of. When a Monarch extends his Dominions by Conquest, he soon learns to consider his old and his new Subjects as on

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the same Footing ; because, in Reality, all his Subjects are to him the same, except the few Friends and Favourites, with whom he is personally acquainted. He does not, therefore, make any Distinction betwixt them in his *general* Laws ; and, at the same Time, is no less careful to prevent all *particular* Acts of Oppression on the one as on the other. But a free State necessarily makes a great Distinction, and must always do so, till Men learn to love their Neighbours as well as themselves. The Conquerors, in such a Government, are all Legislators, and will be sure so to contrive Matters, by Restrictions of Trade, and by Taxes, as to draw some private, as well as public, Advantage from their Conquests. Provincial Governors have also a better Chance in a Republic, to escape with their Plunder, by Means of Bribery or Interest ; and their Fellow-Citizens, who find their own State to be enriched by the Spoils of their Subject-Provinces, will be the more inclined to tolerate such Abuses. Not to mention, that 'tis a necessary Precaution in a free State to change the Governors frequently ; which obliges these temporary Tyrants to be more expeditious and rapacious, that they may accumulate sufficient Wealth before they give place to their Successors. What cruel Tyrants were the *Romans* over the World during the Time of their Commonwealth ! 'Tis true, they had Laws to prevent Oppression in their Provincial Magistrates ; but *Cicero* informs us, that the *Romans* could not better consult the Interest of the Provinces than by repealing these very Laws. For, says he, in that Case our Magistrates, having entire Impunity, would plunder no more than would satisfy their
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own Rapaciousness: Whereas, at present, they must also satisfy that of their Judges, and of all the great Men of *Rome*, whose Protection they stand in need of. Who can read of the Cruelties and Oppressions of *Verres* without Horror and Astonishment? And, who is not touched with Indignation to hear, that after *Cicero* had exhausted on that abandoned Criminal all the Thunders of the most divine Eloquence, and had prevailed so far as to get him condemned to the utmost Extent of the Laws; yet that cruel Tyrant lived peaceably to old Age, in Opulence and Ease, and, thirty Years afterward, was put into the Proscription by *Mark Anthony*, upon account of his exorbitant Wealth, where he fell, along with *Cicero* himself, and all the most virtuous Men of *Rome*? After the Dissolution of the Commonwealth, the *Roman* Yoke became easier upon the Provinces, as *Tacitus* informs us; and it may be observed, that many of the worst Emperors, *Domitian*, for Instance, were very careful to prevent all Oppression of the Provinces. In * *Tiberius's* Time, *Gaul* was esteemed richer than *Italy* itself: Nor do I find, during the whole Time of the *Roman* Monarchy, that the Empire became less rich or populous in any of its Provinces; though indeed its Valour and military Discipline were always upon the Decline. If we pass from ancient to modern Times, we shall find the same Observation to hold true. The Provinces of absolute Monarchies are always better treated than those

* *Egregium resumendæ libertati tempus, si ipsi florentes, quam inops Italia, quam imbellis urbana plæbs, nihil validum in exercitiis, nisi quod externum cogitarent.* TACIT. Ann. Lib. 3.

of free States. Compare the *Païs conquis* of *France* with *Ireland*, and you'll be convinc'd of this Truth ; though this latter Kingdom being, in a good measure, peopled from *England*, possesses so many Rights and Privileges as should naturally make it challenge better Treatment than that of a conquered Province. *Corfica* is also an obvious Instance to the same Purpose.

THERE is an Observation of *Machiavel*, with Regard to the Conquests of *Alexander the Great*, which, I think, may be regarded as one of those eternal political Truths which no Time or Accidents can vary. It may seem strange, says that Politician, that such sudden Conquests, as those of *Alexander*, should be possess'd so peaceably by his Successors, and that the *Persians*, during all the Confusions and Civil Wars of the *Greeks*, never made the smallest Efforts towards the Recovery of their former independent Government. To satisfy us concerning the Cause of this remarkable Event, we may consider, that a Monarch may govern his Subjects after two different Ways. He may either follow the Maxims of the Eastern Princes, and stretch his Power so far as to leave no Distinction of Ranks among his Subjects, but what proceeds immediately from himself ; no Advantages of Birth ; no hereditary Honours and Possessions ; and, in a Word, no Credit among the People, except from his Commission alone. Or a Monarch may exert his Power in a milder Manner, like our *European* Princes ; and leave other Sources of Honour, beside his Smile and Favour : Birth, Titles, Possessions, Valour, Integrity, Knowledge, or brave and fortunate Atchievements.

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In the former Species of Government, after a Conquest, 'tis impossible ever to shake off the Yoke ; since no one possesses, among the People, so much personal Credit and Authority as to begin such an Enterprize : Whereas, in the latter Species of Government, the least Misfortune, or Discord of the Victors, will encourage the Vanquish'd to take Arms, who have Leaders ready to prompt and conduct them in every Undertaking.

SUCH is the Reasoning of *Machiavel*, which seems to me very solid and conclusive ; tho' I wish he had not mix'd Falshood with Truth, in asserting, that Monarchies govern'd according to the Eastern Policy, tho' more easily kept when once they are subdued, yet are the most difficult to be subdued ; since they cannot contain any powerful Subject, whose Discontent and Faction may facilitate the Enterprizes of an Enemy. For besides, that such a tyrannical Government enervates the Courage of Men, and renders them indifferent concerning the Fortunes of their Sovereign ; besides this, I say, we find, by Experience, that even the temporary and delegated Authority of the Generals and Magistrates, being always, in such Governments, as absolute within its Sphere, as that of the Prince himself, is able, with Barbarians accustomed to a blind Submission, to produce the most dangerous and fatal Revolutions. So that, in every Respect, a gentle Government is preferable, and gives the greatest Security to the Sovereign as well as to the Subject.

LEGISLATORS, therefore, should not trust the future Government of a State entirely to Chance, but

ought to provide a System of Laws to regulate the Administration of public Affairs to the latest Posterity. Effects will always correspond to Causes; and wise Regulations in any Commonwealth are the most valuable Legacy which can be left to future Ages. In the smallest Court or Office, the stated Forms and Methods, by which Business must be conducted, are found to be a considerable Check on the natural Depravity of Mankind. Why should not the Case be the same in public Affairs? Can we ascribe the Stability and Wisdom of the *Venetian* Government, thro' so many Ages, to any thing but the Form of Government? And is it not easy to point out those Defects in the original Constitution, which produc'd the tumultuous Governments of *Athens* and *Rome*, and ended at last in the Ruin of these two famous Republics? And so little Dependance has this Affair on the Humours and Education of particular Men, that one Part of the same Republic may be wisely conducted, and another weakly, by the very same Men, merely on account of the Difference of the Forms and Institutions, by which these Parts are regulated. Historians inform us, that this was actually the Case with *Genoa*. For while the State was always full of Sedition, and Tumult, and Disorder, the Bank of *St. George*, which had become a considerable Part of the People, was conducted, for several Ages, with the utmost Integrity and Wisdom*.

T H E

* *Essempio veramente raro, & da Filosofi intante loro immaginate & vedute Republiche mai non trovato, vedere dentro ad un medesimo cerchio, fra medesimi cittadini, la liberta, & la tirannide, la*

THE Ages of greatest public Virtue are not always most eminent for private Virtue. Good Laws may beget Order and Moderation in the Government, where the Manners and Customs have instill'd little Humanity or Justice into the Tempers of Men. The most illustrious Period of the *Roman* History, consider'd in a political View, is that betwixt the Beginning of the first and End of the last *Punic* War; the due Balance betwixt the Nobility and People being then fix'd by the Contests of the Tribunes, and not being yet lost by the Extent of Conquests. Yet at this very Time, the horrid Practice of poisoning was so common, that, during one Season, a *Prætor* punish'd capitally for this Crime above three thousand * Persons, in a Part of *Italy*. There is a similar, or rather a worse Instance †, in the more early Times of the Commonwealth. So deprav'd in their private Life were that People, whom in their Histories we so much admire. I doubt not but they were really more virtuous during the Time of the two *Triumvirates*, when they were tearing their common Country to Pieces, and spreading Slaughter and Desolation over the Face of the Earth, merely for the Choice of Tyrants ‡.

la vita civile et la corrotta, la giustizia & la licenza; perche quello ordine solo mantiene quella città piena di costumi antichi & venerabili. E s'egli avvenisse (che col tempo in ogni modo avverrà) che San Giorgio tutta quella città occupasse, farebbe quella una Repubblica più che la Venetiana memorabile.

Della Hist. Florentinè, Lib. 8.

* T. LIVII, cap. 43.

† Id. lib. 3. cap. 18.

‡ L'Aigle contre L'Aigle, Romains contre Romains

Combattants seulement pour le choix des Tyrans. CORNEILLE.

HERE, then, is a sufficient Inducement to maintain, with the utmost ZEAL, in every free State, those Forms and Institutions by which Liberty is secured, the public Good consulted, and the Avarice or Ambition of particular Men restrained and punished. Nothing does more Honour to human Nature, than to see it susceptible of so noble a Passion; as nothing can be a greater Indication of Meanness of Heart in any Man, than to see him devoid of it. A Man who loves only himself, without Regard to Friendship or Merit, is a detestable Monster; and a Man, who is only susceptible of Friendship, without public Spirit, or a Regard to the Community, is deficient in the most material Part of Virtue.

BUT this is a Subject that need not be longer insisted on at present. There are enow of Zealots on both Sides to kindle up the Passions of their Partizans, and under the Pretence of public Good, pursue the Interests and Ends of their particular Faction. For my Part, I shall always be more Fond of promoting Moderation than Zeal; though perhaps the surest Way of producing Moderation in every Party, is to increase our Zeal for the Public. Let us therefore try, if it be possible, from the foregoing Doctrine, to draw a Lesson of Moderation with regard to the Parties in which our Country is at present * divided; at the same Time, that we allow not this Moderation to abate the Industry and Passion with which every Individual is bound to pursue the Good of his Country.

* In 1742.

THOSE who either attack or defend a Minister in such a Government as ours, where the utmost Liberty is allowed, always carry Matters to Extremes, and exaggerate his Merit or Demerit with regard to the Public. His Enemies are sure to charge him with the greatest Enormities, both in domestic and foreign Management; and there is no Meanness or Crime, of which, in their Account, he is not capable. Unnecessary Wars, scandalous Treaties, Profusion of public Treasure, oppressive Taxes, every Kind of Misadministration is ascribed to him. To aggravate the Charge, his pernicious Conduct, it is said, will extend its baneful Influence even to Posterity, by undermining the best Constitution in the World, and disordering that wise System of Laws, Institutions and Customs, by which our Ancestors, for so many Centuries, have been so happily governed. He is not only a wicked Minister in himself, but has removed every Security provided against wicked Ministers for the future.

ON the other Hand, the Partizans of the Minister make his Panegyric run as high as the Accusation against him, and celebrate his wise, steady, and moderate Conduct in every Part of his Administration. The Honour and Interest of the Nation supported abroad, public Credit maintained at home, Persecution restrain'd, Faction subdu'd; the Merit of all these Blessings is ascrib'd solely to the Minister. At the same Time he crowns all his other Merits, by a religious Care of the best Constitution in the World, which he has preserved inviolate in all its Parts, and

has transmitted entire, to be the Happiness and Security of the latest Posterity.

When this Accusation and Panegyric are receiv'd by the Partizans of each Party, no Wonder they engender a most extraordinary Ferment on both Sides, and fill the whole Nation with the most violent Animosities. But I would fain persuade these Party-Zealots, that there is a flat Contradiction both in the Accusation and Panegyric, and that it were impossible for either of them to run so high, were it not for this Contradiction. If our Constitution be really *that noble Fabric, the Pride of Britain, the Envy of our Neighbours, rais'd by the Labour of so many Centuries, repair'd at the Expence of so many Millions, and cemented by such a Profusion of Blood*; I say, if our Constitution does in any Degree deserve these Elogiums, it wou'd never have suffer'd a wicked and a weak Minister to govern triumphantly for a Course of Twenty Years, when oppos'd by the greatest Geniuses of the Nation, who exercis'd the utmost Liberty of Tongue and Pen, in Parliament, and in their frequent Appeals to the People. But, if the Minister be wicked and weak, to the Degree so strenuously insisted on, the Constitution must be faulty in its original Principles, and he cannot consistently be charg'd with undermining the best Constitution of the World. A Constitution is only so far good, as it provides a Remedy against Male-administration; and if the *British* Constitution, when in its greatest Vigour, and repair'd by two such remarkable Events, as the *Revolution* and *Accession*, by which our ancient Royal Family was sacrificed

crificed to it ; if our Constitution, I say, with so great Advantages, does not, in Fact, provide any such Remedy against Male-administration, we are rather beholden to any Minister that undermines it, and affords us an Opportunity of erecting a better Constitution in its Place.

I w o u l d make Use of the same Topics to moderate the Zeal of those who defend the Minister. *Is our Constitution so excellent ?* Then a Change of Ministry can be no such dreadful Event ; since 'tis essential to such a Constitution, in every Ministry, both to preserve itself from Violation, and to prevent all Enormities in the Administration. *Is our Constitution very bad ?* Then so extraordinary a Jealousy and Apprehension, on account of Changes, is ill-plac'd ; and a Man should no more be anxious in this Case, than a Husband, who had marry'd a Woman from the Stews, should be watchful to prevent her Infidelity. Public Affairs, in such a Constitution, must necessarily go to Confusion, by whatever Hands they are conducted ; and the Zeal of *Patriots* is much less requisite in that Case than the Patience and Submission of *Philosophers*. The Virtue and good Intentions of *Cato* and *Brutus* are highly laudable ; But, to what Purpose did their Zeal serve ? To nothing, but to hasten the fatal Period of the *Roman* Government, and render its Convulsions and dying Agonies more violent and painful.

I w o u l d not be understood to mean, that public Affairs deserve no Care and Attention at all. Would Men be moderate and consistent, their Claims might

be admitt'd; at least might be examin'd. The *Court-Party* might still assert, that our Constitution, tho' excellent, will admit of Male-administration to a certain Degree; and therefore, if the Minister be bad, 'tis proper to oppose him with a *suitable* Degree of Zeal. And, on the other Side, the *Court-Party* may be allow'd, upon the Supposition that the Minister were good, to defend, and with *some* Zeal too, his Administration. I would only persuade Men not to contend, as if they were fighting *pro aris & focis*, and change a good Constitution into a bad one, by the Violence of their Factions*.

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* *What our Author's Opinion was of the famous Minister here pointed at, may be learn'd from that Essay, printed in the former Edition, under the Title of A Character of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE. It was as follows: There never was a Man, whose Actions and Character have been more earnestly and openly canvass'd, than those of the present Minister, who, having govern'd a learned and free Nation for so long a Time, amidst such mighty Opposition, may make a large Library of what has been wrote for and against him, and is the Subject of above Half the Paper that has been blotted in this Nation within these Twenty Years. I wish, for the Honour of our Country, that any one Character of him had been drawn with such Judgment and Impartiality, as to have some Credit with Posterity, and to shew, that our Liberty has, once at least, been employ'd to good Purpose. I am only afraid of failing in the former Quality of Judgment: But if it should be so, 'tis but one Page more thrown away, after an hundred Thousand, upon the same Subject, that have perish'd, and become useless. In the mean Time, I shall flatter myself with the pleasing Imagination, that the following Character will be adopted by future Historians.*

SI E

I HAVE not here considered any Thing that is personal in the present Controversy. In the best Constitution of the World, where every Man is restrain'd

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, Prime Minister of Great Britain, is a Man of Ability, not a Genius ; good natur'd, not virtuous ; constant, not magnanimous ; moderate, not equitable †. His Virtues, in some Instances, are free from the Alloy of those Vices, which usually accompany such Virtues : He is a generous Friend, without being a bitter Enemy. His Vices, in other Instances, are not compensated by those Virtues which are nearly ally'd to them : His Want of Enterprize is not attended with Frugality. The private Character of the Man is better than the public : His Virtues more than his Vices : His Fortune greater than his Fame. With many good Qualities he has incurr'd the public Hatred : With good Capacity he has not escap'd Ridicule. He would have been esteem'd more worthy of his high Station, had he never possess'd it ; and is better qualify'd for the second than for the first Place in any Government. His Ministry has been more advantageous to his Family than to the Public, better for this Age than for Posterity, and more pernicious by bad Precedents than by real Grievances. During his Time Trade has flourish'd, Liberty declin'd, and Learning gone to Ruin. As I am a Man, I love him ; as I am a Scholar, I hate him ; as I am a Briton, I calmly wish his Fall. And were I a Member of either House, I would give my Vote for removing him from St. James's ; but should be glad to see him retire to *Houghton-Hall*, to pass the Remainder of his Days in Ease and Pleasure.

The Author is pleased to find, that after Animosities are laid, and Calumny has ceas'd, the whole Nation almost have return'd to the same moderate Sentiments with regard to this great Man ; if

† Moderate in the Exercise of Power, not equitable in engrossing it,

strain'd by the most rigid Laws, 'tis easy to discover either the good or bad Intentions of a Minister, and to judge, whether his personal Character deserves Love or Hatred. But such Questions are of little Importance to the Public, and lay those who employ their Pens upon them, under a just Suspicion either of Malevolence or of Flattery.

they are not rather become more favourable to him, by a very natural Transition, from one Extreme to another. The Author would not oppose these humane Sentiments towards the Dead; tho' he cannot forbear observing, that the not paying more of our public Debts was, as hinted in this Character, a great, and the only great, Error in that long Administration.

ESSAY V.

Of the first PRINCIPLES *of* GOVERNMENT.

NOTHING is more surprizing to those, who consider human Affairs with a Philosophical Eye, than to see the Easiness with which the many are governed by the few ; and to observe the implicate Submission with which Men resign their own Sentiments and Passions to those of their Rulers. When we enquire by what Means this Wonder is brought about, we shall find, that as FORCE is always on the Side of the Governed, the Governors have nothing to support them but OPINION. 'Tis therefore, on Opinion only that Government is founded ; and this Maxim extends to the most despotic and most military Governments, as well as to the most free and most popular. The *Soldan* of *Ægypt*, or the *Emperor* of *Rome*, might drive his harmless Subjects, like brute Beasts, against their Sentiments and Inclination : But he must, at least, have led his *Mamelukes*, or *Prætorian Bands*, like Men, by their Opinion.

OPINION is of two Kinds, *viz.* Opinion of INTEREST, and Opinion of RIGHT. By Opinion
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of Interest, I chiefly understand the Sense of the public Advantage which is reap'd from Government; along with the Persuasion, that the particular Government, which is establish'd, is equally advantageous with any other that could easily be settled. When this Opinion prevails among the Generality of a State, or among those who have the Force in their Hands, it gives great Security to any Government.

RIGHT is of two Kinds, Right to POWER, and Right to PROPERTY. What Prevalence Opinion of the first Kind has over Mankind, may easily be understood by observing the Attachment which all Nations have to their ancient Government, and even to those Names which have had the Sanction of Antiquity. Antiquity always begets the Opinion of Right; and whatever disadvantageous Sentiment we may entertain of Mankind, they are always found to be prodigal both of Blood and Treasure in the Maintenance of public Right. This Passion we may denominate Enthusiasm, or we may give it what Appellation we please; but a Politician, who should overlook its influence on human Affairs, would prove himself to have but a very limited Understanding. There is, indeed, no Particular, in which, at first Sight, there may appear a greater Contradiction in the Frame of the human Mind than the present. When Men act in a Party, they are apt, without any Shame or Remorse, to neglect all the Ties of Honour and Morality, in order to serve their Party; and yet, when a Party is form'd upon a Point of Right or Principle, there is no Occasion, wherein Men discover a greater Obstinacy,

nacy, and a more determined Sense of Justice and Equity. The same social Disposition of Mankind is the Cause of both these contradictory Appearances.

THIS sufficiently understood, that the Opinion of Right to Property is of the greatest Moment in all Matters of Government. A noted Author has made Property the Foundation of all Government; and most of our Political Writers seem inclin'd to follow him in that Particular. This is carrying the Matter too far; but still it must be own'd, that the Opinion of Right to Property has a great Influence in this Subject.

UPON these three Opinions, therefore, of *Interest*, of *Right to Power*, and of *Right to Property*, are all Governments founded, and all Authority of the few over the many. There are indeed other Principles, which add Force to these, and determine, limit, or alter their Operation; such as *Self-Interest*, *Fear*, and *Affection*: But still I assert, that these other Principles can have no Influence alone, but suppose the antecedent Influence of those Opinions above-mention'd. They are, therefore, to be esteem'd the secondary, not the original Principles of Government.

FOR, first, as to *Self-Interest*, by which I mean the Expectation of particular Rewards, distinct from the general Protection which we receive from Government, 'tis evident, that the Magistrate's Authority must be antecedently establish'd, or, at least, be hop'd for, in order to produce this Expectation. The Expectation of Reward may augment the Authority with regard to some particular Persons; but can never give Birth

Birth to it with regard to the Public. Men naturally look for the greatest Favours from their Friends and Acquaintance ; and therefore, the Hopes of any considerable Number of the State, would never center in any particular Set of Men, if these Men had no other Title to Magistracy, and had no Influence over the Opinions of Mankind. The same Observation may be extended to the other two Principles of *Fear* and *Affection*. No Man would have any Reason to *fear* the Fury of a Tyrant, if he had no Authority over any but from Fear ; since, as a single Man, his bodily Force can reach but a small Way, and whatever Power he has beyond, must be founded either on our own Opinion, or on the presum'd Opinion of others. And tho' *Affection* to Wisdom and Virtue in a *Sovereign* extends very far, and has great Influence ; yet he must be antecedently suppos'd to be invested with a public Character, otherwise the public Esteem will serve him in no Stead, nor will his Virtue have any Influence beyond his private Sphere.

A GOVERNMENT may endure for several Ages, tho' the Balance of Power, and the Balance of Property do not agree. This chiefly happens, where any Member of the State has acquir'd a large Share of the Property ; but, from the original Constitution of the Government, has no Share of the Power. Under what Pretext would any Individual of that Order pretend to intermeddle in public Affairs ? As Men are commonly much attach'd to their ancient Government, it is not to be expected, that the Public would ever favour such Usurpations. But where the original Constitution

situation allows any Share of the Power, though small, to an Order of Men, that possesses a large Share of the Property, 'tis easy for them gradually to stretch their Authority, and bring the Balance of Power to coincide with that of Property. This has been the Case with the House of Commons in *England*.

MOST Writers, that have treated of the *British* Government, have supposed, that as the House of Commons represents all the Commons of *Great Britain*; so its Weight in the Scale is proportioned to the Property and Power of all whom it represents. But this Principle must not be received as absolutely true. For though the People are apt to attach themselves more to the House of Commons, than to any other Member of the Constitution, that House being chosen by them as their Representatives, and as the public Guardians of their Liberty; yet are there Instances where the House, even when in Opposition to the Crown, has not been follow'd by the People; as we may particularly observe of the *Tory* House of Commons in the Reign of King *William*. Were the Members of the House obliged to receive Instructions from their Constituents, like the *Dutch* Deputies, this would entirely alter the Case; and, if such immense Power and Riches, as those of the whole Commons of *Britain*, were brought into the Scale, 'tis not easy to conceive, that the Crown could either influence that Multitude of People, or withstand that Overbalance of Property. 'Tis true, the Crown has great Influence over the collective Body of *Britain* in the Elections of Members; but were this Influence, which
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at present is only exerted once in seven Years, to be employ'd in bringing over the People to every Vote, it would soon be wasted; and no Skill, Popularity or Revenue, could support it. I must, therefore, be of Opinion, that an Alteration, in this Particular, would introduce a total Alteration in our Government, and would soon reduce it to a pure Republic; and, perhaps, to a Republic of no inconvenient Form. For though the People collected in a Body, like the *Roman* Tribes, be quite unfit for Government, yet when dispersed in small Bodies, they are more susceptible both of Reason and Order; the Force of popular Currents and Tides is, in some Measure, broke; and the public Interest may be pursued with Method and Constancy. But 'tis needless to reason any farther concerning a Form of Government, which is never likely to have place in *Britain*, and which seems not to be the Aim of any Party amongst us. Let us cherish and improve our ancient Government as much as possible, without encouraging a Passion for such dangerous Novelties.

I SHALL conclude this Subject with observing, that the present political Controversy, with regard to *Instructions*, is a very frivolous one, and can never be brought to any Decision, as it is managed by both Parties. The Country-Party do not pretend, that a Member is absolutely bound to follow Instructions, as an Ambassador or General is confined by his Orders, and that his Vote is not to be received in the House, but so far as it is conformable to them. The Court-Party, again, do not pretend, that the Sentiments of
the

the People ought to have no Weight with every Member; much less that he ought to despise the Sentiments of those whom he represents, and with whom he is more particularly connected. And if their Sentiments be of Weight, why ought they not to express these Sentiments? The Question, then, is only concerning the Degrees of Weight which ought to be plac'd on Instructions. But such is the Nature of Language, that 'tis impossible for it to express distinctly these different Degrees; and if Men will carry on a Controversy on this Head, it may well happen, that they differ in their Language, and yet agree in their Sentiments; or differ in their Sentiments, and yet agree in their Language. Besides, how is it possible to fix these Degrees, considering the Variety of Affairs that come before the House, and the Variety of Places which Members represent? Ought the Instructions of *Totness* to have the same Weight as those of *London*? Or Instructions, with regard to the *Convention*, which respected foreign Politics, to have the same Weight as those with regard to the *Excise*, which respected only our domestic Affairs?

ESSAY VI.

Of LOVE and MARRIAGE.

I KNOW not whence it proceeds, that Women are so apt to take amiss every thing that is said in Disparagement of the married State ; and always consider a Satyr upon Matrimony as a Satyr upon themselves. Do they mean by this, that they are the Parties principally concerned, and that if a Backwardness to enter into that State should prevail in the World, they would be the greatest Sufferers ? Or, are they sensible, that the Misfortunes and Miscarriages of the married State are owing more to their Sex than to ours ? I hope they do not intend to confess either of these two Particulars, or to give such an Advantage to their Adversaries, the Men, as even to allow them to suspect it.

I HAVE often had Thoughts of complying with this Humour of the Fair Sex, and of writing a Panegyric upon Marriage : But, in looking around for Materials, they seem'd to be of so mix'd a Nature, that at the Conclusion of my Reflections, I found I was as much dispos'd to write a Satyr, which might be placed on the opposite Pages of my Panegyric : And I am afraid, that as Satyr is, on most Occasions,

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thought

thought to have more Truth in it than Panegyric, I should have done their Cause more Harm than Good by this Expedient. To misrepresent Facts is what, I know, they will not require of me. I must be more a Friend to Truth, than even to them, where their Interests are opposite.

I SHALL tell the Women what it is our Sex complains of most in the married State ; and if they be disposed to satisfy us in this Particular, all the other Differences will be easily accommodated. If I be not mistaken, 'tis their Love of Dominion which is the Ground of the Quarrel ; though 'tis very likely, that they will think it an unreasonable Love of it in us, which makes us insist so much upon that Point. However this may be, no Passion seems to have more Influence on female Minds, than this for Power ; and there is a remarkable Instance in History of its prevailing above another Passion, which is the only one that can be supposed a proper Counter-poise for it. We are told, that all the Women in *Sythia* once conspired against the Men, and kept the Secret so well, that they executed their Design before they were suspected. They surpris'd the Men in Drink, or asleep, bound them all fast in Chains ; and having called a solemn Council of the whole Sex, it was debated what Expedient should be used to improve the present Advantage, and prevent their falling again into Slavery. To kill all the Men did not seem to the Relish of any Part of the Assembly, notwithstanding the Injuries formerly received ; and they were afterwards pleas'd to make a great Merit of this Lenity of theirs. It was,
therefore

therefore, agreed to put out the Eyes of the whole male Sex, and thereby resign for ever after all the Vanity they could draw from their Beauty, in order to secure their Authority. We must no longer pretend to Dress and Show, say they; but then we shall be free from Slavery. We shall hear no more tender Sighs; but in return we shall hear no more imperious Commands. Love must for ever leave us; but he will carry Subjection along with him.

'Tis regarded by some as an unlucky Circumstance, since the Women were resolved to maim the Men, and deprive them of some of their Senses, in order to render them humble and dependent, that the Sense of Hearing could not serve their Purpose, since 'tis probable the Females would rather have attack'd that than the Sight: And I think it is agreed among the Learned, that, in a married State, 'tis not near so great an Inconvenience to lose the former Sense as the latter. However this may be, we are told, by modern Anecdotes, that some of the *Scythian* Women did secretly spare their Husbands Eyes; presuming, I suppose, that they could govern them as well by Means of that Sense as without it. But so incorrigible and intractable were these Men, that their Wives were all obliged, in a few Years, as their Youth and Beauty decay'd, to imitate the Example of their Sisters; which it was no difficult Matter to do in a State where the female Sex had once got the Superiority.

I know not if our *Scottish* Ladies derive any thing of this Humour from their *Scythian* Ancestors;

but, I must confess, that I have often been surpriz'd to see a Woman very well pleas'd to take a Fool for her Mate, that she might govern with the less Controul; and could not but think her Sentiments, in this Respect, still more barbarous than those of the *Scythian* Women above mentioned, as much, as the Eyes of the Understanding are more valuable than those of the Body.

BUT to be just, and to lay the Blame more equally, I am afraid it is the Fault of our Sex, if the Women be so fond of Rule, and that if we did not abuse our Authority, they would never think it worth while to dispute it. Tyrants, we know, produce Rebels; and all History informs us, that Rebels, when they prevail, are apt to become Tyrants in their Turn. For this Reason, I could wish there were no Pretensions to Authority on either Side; but that every thing was carry'd on with perfect Equality, as betwixt two equal Members of the same Body. And to induce both Parties to embrace those amicable Sentiments, I shall deliver to them *Plato's* Account of the Origin of Love and Marriage.

MANKIND, according to that fanciful Philosopher, were not, in their Original, divided into Male and Female, as at present; but each individual Person was a Compound of both Sexes, and was in himself both Husband and Wife, melted down into one living Creature. This Union, no Doubt, was very entire, and the Parts very well adjusted together, since there result'd a perfect Harmony betwixt the Male and Fe-

male, altho' they were oblig'd to be inseparable Companions. And so great was the Harmony and Happiness flowing from it, that the ANDROGYNES (for so *Plato* calls them) or MEN-WOMEN, became insolent upon their Prosperity, and rebell'd against the Gods. To punish them for this Temerity, *Jupiter* could contrive no better Expedient, than to divorce the Male-Part from the Female, and make two imperfect Beings of the Compound, which was before so perfect. Hence the Origin of Men and Women, as distinct Creatures. But notwithstanding this Division, so lively is our Remembrance of the Happiness we enjoy'd in our primeval State, that we are never at rest in this Situation; but each of these Halves is continually searching thro' the whole Species to find the other Half, which was broken from it: And when they meet, they join again with the greatest Fondness and Sympathy. But it often happens, that they are mistaken in this Particular: that they take for their Half what no way corresponds to them; and that the Parts do not meet nor join in with each other, as is usual in Fractures. In this Case the Union is soon dissolv'd, and each Part is set loose again to hunt for its lost Half, joining itself to every one it meets by Way of Trial, and enjoying no Rest, till its perfect Sympathy with its Partner shews, that it has at last been successful in its Endeavours.

WERE I dispos'd to carry on this Fiction of *Plato*, which accounts for the mutual Love betwixt the Sexes in so agreeable a Manner, I would do it by the following Allegory.

WHEN

WHEN *Jupiter* had separated the Male from the Female, and had quell'd their Pride and Ambition by so severe an Operation, he could not but repent him of the Cruelty of his Vengeance, and take Compassion on poor Mortals, who were now become incapable of any Repose or Tranquillity. Such Cravings, such Anxieties, such Necessities arose, as made them curse their Creation, and think Existence itself a Punishment. In vain had they Recourse to every other Occupation and Amusement. In vain did they seek after every Pleasure of Sense, and every Refinement of Reason. Nothing could fill that Void, which they felt in their Hearts, or supply the Loss of their Partner, who was so fatally separated from them. To remedy this Disorder, and to bestow some Comfort, at least, on human Race in their forlorn Situation, *Jupiter* sent down LOVE and HYMEN to collect the broken Halves of human Kind, and piece them together, in the best Manner possible. These two Deities found such a prompt Disposition in Mankind to unite again in their primitive State, that they proceeded on their Work with wonderful Success for some Time; till at last, from many unlucky Accidents, Dissension arose betwixt them. The chief Counsellor and Favourite of *Hymen* was CARE, who was continually filling his Patron's Head with Prospects of Futurity; a Settlement, Family, Children, Servants; so that little else was regarded in all the Matches *they* made. On the other Hand, *Love* had chosen PLEASURE for his Favourite, who was as pernicious a Counsellor as the other, and would never allow *Love* to look be-

yond the present momentary Gratification, or the satisfying of the prevailing Inclination. These two Favourites became, in a little Time, irreconcilable Enemies, and made it their chief Business to undermine each other in all their Undertakings. No sooner had *Love* fix'd upon two Halves, which he was cementing together, and forming to a close Union, but *Care* insinuates himself, and bringing *Hymen* along with him, dissolves the Union produc'd by *Love*, and joins each Half to some other Half, which he had provided for it. To be reveng'd of this, *Pleasure* creeps in upon a Pair already join'd by *Hymen*; and calling *Love* to his Assistance, they Under-hand contrive to join each Half, by secret Links, to Halves, which *Hymen* was wholly unacquainted with. It was not long before this Quarrel was felt in its pernicious Consequences; and such Complaints arose before the Throne of *Jupiter*, that he was obliged to summon the offending Parties to appear before him, in order to give an Account of their Proceedings. After hearing the Pleadings on both Sides, he order'd an immediate Reconcilement betwixt *Love* and *Hymen*, as the only Expedient for giving Happiness to Mankind: And that he might be sure this Reconcilement should be durable, he laid his strict Injunctions on them never to join any Halves without consulting their Favourites *Care* and *Pleasure*, and obtaining the Consent of both to the Conjunction. Where this Order is strictly observ'd, the *Androgyne* is perfectly restor'd, and human Race enjoy the same Happiness as in their primæval State. The Seam is scarce perceiv'd that joins the two Beings together; but both of them combine to form one perfect and happy Creature.

ESSAY VII.

Of the STUDY of HISTORY.

THERE is nothing I would recommend more earnestly to my female Readers than the Study of History, as an Occupation, of all others, the best suited both to their Sex and Education ; much more instructive than their ordinary Books of Amusement, and more entertaining than those serious Compositions, which are usually to be found in their Closets. Among other important Truths, which they may learn from History, they may be inform'd of two Particulars, the Knowledge of which may contribute very much to their Quiet and Repose ; *That* our Sex, as well as theirs, are far from being such perfect Creatures as they are apt to imagine, and, *That* Love is not the only Passion, that governs the Male-World, but is often overcome by Avarice, Ambition, Vanity, and a thousand other Passions. Whether they be the false Representations of Mankind in those two Particulars, that endear Romances and Novels so much to the fair Sex, I know not ; but must confess, I am sorry to see them have such an Aversion to Matter of Fact, and such an Appetite for Falshood. I remember I was once desired by a young Beauty, for whom I had some Passion, to send her some Novels and Romances for her

Amusement in the Country ; but was not so ungenerous as to take the Advantage, which such a Course of Reading might have given me, being resolved not to make Use of poisoned Arms against her. I therefore sent her *Plutarch's Lives*, assuring her, at the same Time, that there was not a Word of Truth in them from Beginning to End. She perused them very attentively, till she came to the Lives of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, whose Names she had heard of by Accident ; and then returned me the Book, with many Reproaches for deceiving her.

I MAY indeed be told, that the fair Sex have no such Aversion to History, as I have represented, provided it be *secret* History, and contain some memorable Transaction proper to excite their Curiosity. But as I do not find that Truth, which is the Basis of History, is at all regarded in those Anecdotes, I cannot admit of this as a Proof of their Passion for that Study. However this may be, I see not why the same Curiosity might not receive a more proper Direction, and lead them to desire Accounts of those who lived in past Ages as well of their Contemporaries. What is it to *Clara*, whether *Fulvia* entertains a secret Commerce of Love with *Philander* or not ? Has she not equal Reason to be pleased, when she is informed, (what is whispered about among Historians) that *Cato's* Sister had an Intrigue with *Cæsar*, and palmed her Son, *Marcus Brutus*, upon her Husband for his own, tho', in Reality, he was her Gallant's ? And are not the Loves of *Messalina* or *Julia* as proper Subjects of Discourse as any Intrigue that this City has produced of late Years.

BUT

BUT I know not whence it comes, that I have been thus seduc'd into a Kind of Raillery against the Ladies : Unless, perhaps, it proceed from the same Cause, that makes the Person, who is the Favourite of the Company, be often the Object of their good-natur'd Jest and Pleasantries. We are pleas'd to address ourselves after any Manner to a Person that is agreeable to us ; and, at the same Time, presume, that nothing will be taken amiss by one who is secure of the good Opinion and Affections of every one present. I shall now proceed to handle my Subject more seriously, and shall point out the many Advantages, that flow from the Study of History, and shew how well suited it is to every one, but particularly to those who are debarred the severer Studies, by the Tendernefs of their Complexion, and the Weaknefs of their Education. The Advantages found in History seem to be of three Kinds, as it amuses the Fancy, as it improves the Understanding, and as it strengthens Virtue.

IN Reality, what more agreeable Entertainment to the Mind, than to be transported into the remotest Ages of the World, and to observe human Society, in its Infancy, making the first faint Essays towards the Arts and Sciences : To see the Policy of Government, and the Civility of Conversation refining by Degrees, and every thing that is ornamental to human Life advancing towards its Perfection. To remark the Rise, Progress, Declension and final Extinction of the most flourish-

flourishing Empires : The Virtues, which contributed to their Greatness ; and the Vices, which drew on their Ruin. In short, to see all human Race, from the Beginning of Time, pass, as it were, in Review before us, appearing in their true Colours, without any of those Disguises, which, during their Life-time, so much perplexed the Judgment of the Beholders. What Spectacle can be imagined so magnificent, so various, so interesting ? What Amusement, either of the Senses or Imagination, can be compared with it ? Shall those trifling Pastimes, which engross so much of our Time, be prefer'd as more satisfactory, and more fit to engage our Attention ? How perverse must that Taste be, which is capable of so wrong a Choice of Pleasures ?

BUT History is a most improving Part of Knowledge, as well as an agreeable Amusement ; and a great Part of what we commonly call *Erudition*, and value so highly, is nothing but an Acquaintance with historical Facts. An extensive Knowledge of this kind, belongs to Men of Letters ; but I must think it an unpardonable Ignorance in Persons of whatever Sex or Condition, not to be acquainted with the History of their own Country, along with the Histories of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*. A Woman may behave herself with good Manners, and have even some Vivacity in her Turn of Wit ; but where her Mind is so unfurnish'd, 'tis impossible her Conversation can afford any Entertainment to Men of Sense and Reflection.

I MUST add, That History is not only a valuable Part of Knowledge, but opens the Door to many other Parts of Knowledge, and affords Materials to most of the Sciences. And indeed, if we consider the Shortness of human Life, and our limited Knowledge, even of what passes in our own Time, we must be sensible, that we should be for ever Children in Understanding, were it not for this Invention, which extends our Experience to all past Ages, and to the most distant Nations ; making them contribute as much to our Improvement in Wisdom, as if they had actually lain under our Observation. A Man acquainted with History may, in some respect, be said to have lived from the Beginning of the World, and to have been making continual Additions to his Stock of Knowledge in every Century.

THERE is also an Advantage in that Knowledge which is acquired by History, above what is learned by the Practice of the World, that it brings us acquainted with human Affairs, without diminishing in the least from the most delicate Sentiments of Virtue. And, to tell the Truth, I know not any Study or Occupation so unexceptionable as History in this Particular. Poets can paint Virtue in the most charming Colours ; but, as they address themselves entirely to the Passions, they often become Advocates for Vice. Even Philosophers are apt to bewilder themselves in the Subtlety of their Speculations ; and we have seen some go so far as to deny the Reality of all moral Distinc-

tions. But I think it a Remark worthy the Attention of the speculative Reader, that the Historians have been, almost without Exception, the true Friends of Virtue, and have always represented it in its proper Colours, however they may have erred in their Judgments of particular Persons. *Machiavel* himself discovers a true Sentiment of Virtue in his History of *Florence*. When he talks as a *Politician*, in his general Reasonings, he considers Poisoning, Assassination and Perjury as lawful Arts of Power; but when he speaks as an *Historian*, in his particular Narrations, he shews so keen an Indignation against Vice, and so warm an Approbation of Virtue, in many Passages, that I could not forbear applying to him that Remark of *Horace*, That if you chase away Nature, though with never so great Indignity, she will always return upon you. Nor is this Combination of Historians in Favour of Virtue at all difficult to be accounted for. When a Man of Business enters into Life and Action, he is more apt to consider the Characters of Men, as they have Relation to his Interest, than as they stand in themselves; and has his Judgment warped on every Occasion by the Violence of his Passion. When a Philosopher contemplates Characters and Manners in his Closet, the general abstract View of the Objects leaves the Mind so cold and unmoved, that the Sentiments of Nature have no room to play, and he scarce feels the Difference betwixt Vice and Virtue. History keeps in a just Medium betwixt these Extremes, and places the Objects in their true Point of View. The Writers of History, as well as the Readers, are sufficiently interested

terested in the Characters and Events, to have a lively Sentiment of Blame or Praise ; and, at the same Time, have no particular Interest or Concern to pervert their Judgment.

*Veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Eliciantur.*

ESSAY VIII.

Of the INDEPENDENCY of PARLIAMENT.

I HAVE frequently observ'd, in comparing the Conduct of the *Court* and *Country* Parties, that the former are commonly less assuming and dogmatical in Conversation, more apt to make Concessions; and tho' not, perhaps, more susceptible of Conviction, yet more able to bear Contradiction than the latter; who are apt to fly out upon any Opposition, and to regard one as a mercenary designing Fellow, if he argues with any Coolness and Impartiality, or makes any Concessions to their Adversaries. This is a Fact, which, I believe, every one may have observ'd, who has been much in Companies where political Questions have been discuss'd; though, were one to ask the reason of this Difference, every Party would be apt to assign a different Reason. Gentlemen in the *Opposition* will ascribe it to the very Nature of their Party, which, being founded on public Spirit, and a Zeal for the Constitution, cannot easily endure such Doctrines, as are of pernicious Consequence to Liberty. The Courtiers, on the other Hand, will be apt to put us in Mind of the Clown mention'd by Lord *Shaftsbury*. "A
" Clown,

" Clown, says that * excellent Author, once took a
 " Fancy to hear the *Latin* Disputes of Doctors at an
 " University. He was ask'd what Pleasure he could
 " take in viewing such Combatants, when he could
 " never know so much, as which of the Parties had
 " the better." *For that Matter*, reply'd the Clown,
 " *I a'n't such a Fool neither, but I can see who's the first*
 " *that puts t'other into a Passion*, Nature herself dic-
 " tated this Lesson to the Clown, that he who had the
 " better of the Argument would be easy and well-hu-
 " mour'd : But he who was unable to support his Cause
 " by Reason, would naturally lose his Temper, and
 " grow violent."

To which of these Reasons shall we adhere ? To
 neither of them, in my Opinion ; unless we have a
 Mind to inlist ourselves, and become Zealots in either
 Party. I believe I can assign the Reason of this dif-
 ferent Conduct of the two Parties, without offending
 either. The Country Party are plainly most popular at
 present, and, perhaps, have been so in most Admini-
 strations : So that, being accustomed to prevail in
 Company, they cannot endure to hear their Opinions
 controverted, but are as confident on the publick Fa-
 vour, as if they were supported in all their Sentiments
 by the most infallible Demonstration. The Courtiers,
 on the other Hand, are commonly so run down by
 your popular Talkers, that if you speak to them with
 any Moderation, or make them the smallest Conces-
 sions, they think themselves extremely beholden to
 you, and are apt to return the Favour by a like Mo-

* Miscellaneous Reflections, p. 107.

deration and Facility on their Part. To be furious and passionate, they know, would only gain them the Character of *shameless Mercenaries*; not that of *zealous Patriots*, which is the Character that such a warm Behaviour is apt to acquire to the other Party.

IN all Controversies, we find, without regarding the Truth or Falshood on either Side, that those who defend the establish'd and popular Opinions, are always the most dogmatical and imperious in their Stile: While their Adversaries affect a most extraordinary Gentleness and Moderation, in order to soften, as much as possible, any Prejudices that may lye against them. Consider the Behaviour of our *Free-thinkers* of all Denominations, whether they be such as decry all Revelation, or only oppose the exorbitant Power of the Clergy; *Collins, Tindal, Foster, Hoadley*. Compare their Moderation and Good-manners, with the furious Zeal and Scurrility of their Adversaries, and you will be convinc'd of the Truth of my Observation. A like Difference may be observ'd in the Conduct of those *French Writers*, who maintain'd the Controversy, with regard to ancient and modern Learning. *Boileau, Monsieur & Madame Dacier, l'Abbe de Bos*, who defended the Party of the Ancients, mix'd their Reasonings with Satyre and Inveective: While *Fontenelle, la Motte, Charpentier*, and even *Perrault* never transgress'd the Bounds of Moderation and Good-breeding; tho' provok'd by the most severe Railleries of their Adversaries.

I AM led into this Train of Reflection, by considering some Papers wrote upon that grand Topic of *Court-Influence, and Parliamentary Dependence*, where, in my humble Opinion, the Country Party shew too rigid an Inflexibility, and too great a Jealousy of making Concessions to their Adversaries. Their Reasonings lose their Force, by being carried too far; and the Popularity of their Opinions has seduc'd them to neglect, in some Measure, their Justness and Solidity. The following Reasoning will, I hope, serve to justify me in this Opinion.

POLITICAL Writers have establish'd it as a Maxim, That in contriving any System of Government, and fixing the several Checks and Controuls of the Constitution, every Man ought to be suppos'd a *Knaave*, and to have no other End, in all his Actions, but private Interest. By this Interest we must govern him, and, by Means of it, make him co-operate to public Good, notwithstanding his insatiable Avarice and Ambition. Without this, say they, we shall in vain boast of the Advantages of any Constitution, and shall find, in the End, that we have no Security for our Liberties or Possessions, except the Good-will of our Rulers; that is, we shall have no Security at all.

'Tis therefore a just *political* Maxim, *That every Man must be supposed a Knaave*: Though, at the same Time, I must own it appears somewhat strange, that a Maxim should be true in *Politics*, which is false in *Faith*. But to satisfy us on this Head, we may consider, that

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Men

Men are generally more honest in their private than in their public Character, and will go greater Lengths to serve a Party, than where their own private Interest is alone concerned. Honour is a great Check upon Mankind : But where a considerable Body of Men act together, this Check is, in a great Measure, removed ; since a Man is sure to be approved of by his own Party, for what promotes the common Interest, and he soon learns to despise the Clamours of his Adversaries. To which we may add, that every Court or Senate is determined by the Majority ; so that, if Self-Interest influences only the Majority, (as it will always do in the present depraved State of Mankind) the whole Senate follows the Allurements of this separate Interest, and acts as if it contained not one Member, who had any Regard to public Interest and Liberty.

WHEN, therefore, there offers to my Censure, and Examination, any Plan of Government, real or imaginary, where the Power is distributed among several Courts, and several Orders of Men, I always consider the private Interest of each Court, and each Order ; and, if I find, that, by the artful Division of the Power, the private Interest must necessarily, in its Operation, concur with the Public, I pronounce that Government to be wise and happy. If, on the contrary, the private Interest of each Order be not check'd, and be not directed to public Interest, I shall look for nothing but Faction, Disorder, and Tyranny from such a Government. In this Opinion I am justified by Experience, as well as by the Authority of all Philo-

Philosophers and Politicians, both ancient and modern.

How much, therefore, would it have surpris'd such a Genius as *Cicero*, or *Tacitus*, to have been told, That, in a future Age, there should arise a very regular System of *mixt* Government, where the Power was so distributed, that one Rank, whenever it pleas'd, might swallow up all the rest, and engross the whole Power of the Constitution. Such a Government, they would have been apt to say, will not be a mix'd Government. For so great is the natural Ambition of Men, that they are never satisfied with Power; and if one Order of Men, by pursuing its own Interest, can usurp upon every other Order, it will certainly do so, and render itself, as far as possible, absolute and uncontrollable.

But, in this Opinion, Experience shews they would have been mistaken. For this is actually the Case with the *British* Constitution. The Share of Power allotted by our Constitution to the House of Commons is so great, that it absolutely commands all the other Parts of our Government. The King's legislative Power is plainly no proper Check to it. For tho' the King has a Negative in the passing of all Laws; yet this, in Fact, is esteem'd of so little Moment, that whatever passes the two Houses, is always sure to be pass'd into a Law, and the Royal Assent is little better than a mere Form. The principal Weight of the Crown lies in the executive Power. But besides that the executive Power, in every Government, is
altogether.

altogether subordinate to the legislative ; besides this I say, the Exercise of this Power requires an immense Expence, and the Commons have assumed to themselves the sole Power of disposing of public Money. How easy, therefore, would it be for that House to wrest from the Crown all these Powers, one after another, by making every Grant of Money conditional, and choosing their Time so well, that their Refusal of Subsidies should only distress the Government, without giving foreign Powers any Advantage over us ? Did the House of Commons depend in the same Manner on the King, and had none of the Members any Property but from his Gift, would not he command all their Resolutions, and be from that Moment absolute ? As to the House of Lords, they are a very powerful Support to the Crown as long as they are, in their Turn, supported by it ; but both Experience and Reason shew us, that they have no Force nor Authority sufficient to maintain themselves alone, without any such Support.

How, therefore, shall we solve this Paradox ? And by what Means is this Member of our Constitution confin'd within its proper Limits ; since, from our very Constitution, it must necessarily have as much Power as it demands, and can only be confin'd by itself ? How is this consistent with our constant Experience of human Nature ? I answer, That the Interest of the Body is here restrain'd by the Interest of the Individuals, and that the House of Commons stretches not its Power, because such an Usurpation would be contrary to the Interest of the Majority of
its

its Members. The Crown has so many Offices at its Disposal, that when assisted by the honest and disinterested Part of the House, it will always command the Resolutions of the whole; so far at least, as to preserve the ancient Constitution from Danger. We may, therefore, give to this Influence what Name we please; we may call it by the invidious Appellations of *Corruption* and *Dependence*; but some Degree and some Kind of it are inseparable from the very Nature of the Constitution, and necessary to the Preservation of our mix'd Government.

INSTEAD then of asserting * absolutely, that the Dependence of Parliament, in every Degree, is an Infringement of *British* Liberty, the Country-Party would have done better to have made some Concessions to their Adversaries, and have only examined what was the proper Degree of this Dependence, beyond which it became dangerous to Liberty. But such a Moderation is not to be expected of Party-Men of any Kind. After a Concession of this Nature, all Declamation must be abandoned; and a serious calm Enquiry into the proper Degrees of Court-Influence, and Parliamentary Dependence would have been expected by the Readers. And tho' the Advantage, in such a Controversy, might possibly remain to the *Country-Party*; yet the Victory would not have been so compleat as they wish for, nor would a true Patriot have given an entire Loose to his Zeal, for fear of running Matters into a contrary Extreme, by di-

* See *Dissertation on Parties*, throughout.

minishing too * far the Influence of the Crown. 'Twas, therefore, thought best to deny, that this Extreme could ever be dangerous to the Constitution, or that the Crown could ever have too little Influence over Members of Parliament.

ALL Questions concerning the proper Medium betwixt any two Extremes are very difficult to be decided; both because it is difficult to find *Words* proper to fix this Medium, and because the Good and Ill, in such Cases, run so gradually into each other, as even to render our *Sentiments* doubtful and uncertain. But there is a peculiar Difficulty in the present Case, which would embarrass the most knowing and most impartial Examiner. The Power of the Crown is always lodged in a single Person, either King or Minister; and as this Person may have either a greater or less Degree of Ambition, Capacity, Courage, Popularity or Fortune, the Power, which is too great in one Hand, may become too little in another. In pure Republics, where the Power is distributed among several Assemblies or Senates, the Checks and Controuls are more regular in their Operation; because the Members of such numerous Assemblies may be presumed to be al-

* By that *Influence of the Crown*, which I would justify, I mean only, that arising from the Offices and Honours which are at the Disposal of the Crown. As to private *Bribery*, it may be considered in the same Light as the Practice of employing Spies, which is scarce justifiable in a good Minister, and is infamous in a bad one: But to be a Spy, or to be corrupted, is always infamous under all Ministries, and is to be regarded as a shameless Prostitution.

ways nearly equal in Capacity and Virtue ; and 'tis only their Number, Riches, or Authority, that enter into Consideration. But a limited Monarchy admits not of any such Stability ; nor is it possible to assign to the Crown such a determinate Degree of Power, as will, in every Hand, form a proper Counter-balance to the other Parts of the Constitution. This is an unavoidable Disadvantage, among the many Advantages, attending that Species of Government.

ESSAY IX.

Whether the BRITISH GOVERNMENT inclines more to ABSOLUTE MONARCHY, or to a REPUBLIC.

IT affords a violent Prejudice against almost every Art and Science, that no prudent Man, however sure of his Principles, dares prophesy concerning any Event, or foretell the remote Consequences of Things. A Physician will not venture to pronounce concerning the Condition of his Patient a Fortnight or Month after : And still less dares a Politician foretell the Situation of public Affairs a few Years hence. *Harrington* thought himself so sure of his general Principle, *That the Balance of Power depends on that of Property*, that he ventured to pronounce it impossible ever to re-establish Monarchy in *England* : But his Book was scarce published when the King was restored ; and we see that Monarchy has ever since subsisted upon the same Footing as before. Notwithstanding of this unlucky Example, I will venture to examine a very important Question, *viz. Whether the British Government inclines more to absolute Monarchy, or to a Republic ; and in which of these two Species of Government it*
will

will most probably terminate? As there seems not to be any great Danger of a sudden Revolution either Way, I shall at least escape the Shame attending my Temerity, if I should be found to have been mistaken?

THOSE who assert, That the Balance of our Government inclines towards Absolute Monarchy, may support their Opinion by the following Reasons. That Property has a great Influence on Power cannot possibly be denied; but yet the general Maxim, *That the Balance of the one depends upon the Balance of the other*, must be received with several Limitations. 'Tis evident, that much less Property in a single Hand will be able to counter-balance a greater Property in several Hands; not only because it is difficult to make many Persons combine in the same Views and Measures; but also because Property, when united, causes much greater Dependence, than the same Property, when dispersed. An hundred Persons, of 1000 *l.* a Year a-piece, can consume all their Income, and no Body shall ever be the better for them, except their Servants and Tradesmen, who justly regard their Profits as the Product of their own Labour. But a Man possess'd of 100,000 *l.* a Year, if he has either any Generosity, or any Cunning, may create a great Dependence by Obligations, and still a greater by Expectations. Hence we find, that in all free Governments any Subject exorbitantly rich has always created Jealousy, even tho' his Riches bore no manner of Proportion to the Riches of the State. *Craffus's* Fortune, if I remember well, amounted only to about * sixteen

* As Interest in *Rome* was higher than with us, this might yield above 100,000 *l.* a Year.

hundred thousand Pound in our Money ; and yet we find, that, though his Genius was nothing extraordinary, he was able, by Means of his Riches alone, to counter-balance, during his Life-time, the Power of *Pompey* as well as of *Cæsar*, who afterwards became Master of the World. The Wealth of the *Medicis* made them Masters of *Florence* ; tho', 'tis probable, it was very inconsiderable, compared to the united Property of that opulent Republic.

THESE Considerations are apt to make one entertain a very magnificent Idea of the *British* Spirit and Love of Liberty ; since we could maintain our free Government, during so many Centuries, against our Sovereigns, who, besides the Power and Dignity and Majesty of the Crown, have always been possess'd of much more Property, than any Subject has ever enjoy'd in any Commonwealth. But it may be said, that this Spirit, however great, will never be able to support itself against that immense Property, which is now lodg'd in the King, and which is still increasing. Upon a moderate Computation, there are near three Millions at the Disposal of the Crown. The Civil List amounts to near a Million ; the Collection of all Taxes to another Million ; and the Employments in the Army and Navy, along with Ecclesiastical Preferments, to above a third Million : A monstrous Sum, and what may fairly be computed to be more than a thirtieth Part of the whole Income and Labour of the Kingdom. When we add to this immense Property, the increasing Luxury of the Nation, our Proneness to Corruption, along with the great

great Power and Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Command of such numerous military Forces, there is no one but must despair, without extraordinary Efforts, of being able to support our free Government much longer under all these Disadvantages.

On the other Hand, those who maintain, that the Byass of the *British* Government leans towards a Republic, may support their Opinion by very specious Arguments. It may be said, that though this immense Property in the Crown, be join'd to the Dignity of first Magistrate, and to many other legal Powers and Prerogatives, which should naturally give it a greater Influence; yet it really becomes less dangerous to Liberty upon that very Account. Were *Britain* a Republic, and were any private Man possess'd of a Revenue, a third, or even a tenth Part as large as that of the Crown, he would very justly excite Jealousy; because he would infallibly have great Authority in the Government: And such an irregular Authority, not avowed by the Laws, is always more dangerous than a much greater Authority, which is derived from them. A * Man possess'd of usurp'd Authority, can set no Bounds to his Pretensions: His Partizans have Liberty to hope for every thing in his Favours: His Enemies provoke his Ambition, along with his Fears, by the Violence of their Opposition: And the Government being thrown into a Ferment,

* *On ne monte jamais si haut que quand on ne sçait pas en on va,*
said *Cromwell* to the President de *Bellievre*.

every corrupted Humour in the State naturally gathers to him. On the contrary, a legal Authority, tho' very great, has always some Bounds, which terminate both the Hopes and Pretensions of the Person possess'd of it: The Laws must have provided a Remedy against its Excesses: Such an eminent Magistrate has much to fear, and little to hope from his Usurpations: And as his legal Authority is quietly submitted to, he has little Temptation and little Opportunity of extending it farther. Besides, it happens, with regard to ambitious Aims and Projects, what may be observed with regard to Sects of Philosophy and Religion. A new Sect excites such a Ferment, and is both opposed and defended with such Vehemence, that it spreads always faster, and multiplies its Partizans with greater Rapidity, than any old established Opinion, recommended by the Sanction of the Laws and of Antiquity. Such is the Nature of Novelty, that where any thing pleases, it becomes doubly agreeable, if new; but, if it displeases, it is doubly displeasing, upon that very Account. And, in most Cases, the Violence of Enemies is favourable to ambitious Projects, as well as the Zeal of Partizans.

It may farther be said, that tho' Men be very much govern'd by Interest; yet even Interest itself, and all human Affairs are merely govern'd by *Opinion*. Now, there has been a very sudden and a very sensible Change in the Opinions of Men within these last fifty Years, by the Progress of Learning and of Liberty. Most People, in this Island, have divested themselves of all
super-

superstitious Reverence to Names and Authority : The Clergy have entirely lost their Credit : Their Pretensions and Doctrines have been ridicul'd ; and even Religion can scarce support itself in the World. The mere Name of *King* commands little Respect ; and to talk of a King as GOD's Vicegerent upon Earth, or to give him any of those magnificent Titles, which formerly dazzled Mankind, would but excite Laughter in every one. Tho' the Crown, by Means of its large Revenue, may maintain its Authority in Times of Tranquillity, upon private Interest and Influence ; yet, as the least Shock or Convulsion must break all these Interests to Pieces, the kingly Power, being no longer supported by the settled Principles and Opinions of Men, will immediately dissolve. Had Men been in the same Disposition at the *Revolution*, as they are at present, Monarchy would have run a great Risque of being entirely lost in this Island.

DURST I venture to deliver my own Sentiments amidst these opposite Arguments, I would assert, that unless there happen some extraordinary Convulsion, the Power of the Crown, by Means of its large Revenue, is rather upon the Increase ; though, at the same Time, I own, that its Progress seems to me very slow, and almost insensible. The Tide has run long, and with some Rapidity, to the Side of popular Government, and is just beginning to turn towards Monarchy.

It is well known, that every Government must come to a Period, and that Death is unavoidable to

the political as well as to the animal Body. But, as one Kind of Death may be preferable to another, it may be enquir'd, whether it be more desirable for the *British* Constitution to terminate in a popular Government, or in absolute Monarchy? Here I would declare frankly, that tho' Liberty be infinitely preferable to Slavery, in almost every Case; yet I would much rather wish to see an absolute Monarch than a Republic in this Island. For, let us consider, what Kind of Republic we have Reason to expect. The Question is not concerning any fine imaginary Republic, which a Man may form a Plan of in his Closet. There is no Doubt, but a popular Government may be imagined more perfect than absolute Monarchy, or even than our present Constitution. But what Reason have we to expect that any such Government will ever be established in *Britain*, upon the Dissolution of our Monarchy? If any single Person acquire Power enough to take our Constitution to Pieces, and put it up a-new, he is really an absolute Monarch; and we have had already an Instance of this Kind, sufficient to convince us, that such a Person will never resign his Power, or establish any free Government. Matters, therefore, must be trusted to their natural Progress and Operation, and the House of Commons, according to its present Constitution, must be the only Legislature in such a popular Government. The Inconveniences, attending such a Situation of Affairs, present themselves by Thousands. If the House of Commons, in such a Case, ever dissolves itself, which is not to be expected, we may look for a civil War every Election. If it continues itself, we shall suffer all the Tyranny

of a Faction, sub-divided into new Factions. And as such a violent Government cannot long subsist, we shall, at last, after infinite Convulsions and Civil Wars, find Repose in absolute Monarchy, which it would have been happier for us to have established peaceably from the Beginning. Absolute Monarchy, therefore, is the easiest Death, the true *Euthanasia* of the *British* Constitution.

THUS, if we have Reason to be more jealous of Monarchy, because the Danger is more imminent from that Quarter; we have also Reason to be more jealous of popular Government, because that Danger is more terrible. This may teach us a Lesson of Moderation in all our political Controversies.

ESSAY X.

Of PARTIES in general.

OF all Men, that distinguish themselves by memorable Atchievements, the first Place of Honour, in my Opinion, is due to LEGISLATORS, and Founders of States, who transmit a System of Laws and Institutions to secure the Peace, Happiness, and Liberty of future Generations. The Influence of useful Inventions in the Arts and Sciences may, perhaps, extend farther than those of wise Laws, whose Effects are limited both in Time and Place ; but the Benefit arising from the former is not so sensible as that which proceeds from the latter. Speculative Sciences do, indeed, improve the Mind ; but this Advantage reaches only to a few Persons, who have Leisure to apply themselves to them. And as to practical Arts, which increase the Commodities and Enjoyments of Life, 'tis well known, that Mens Happiness consists not so much in an Abundance of these, as in the Peace and Security with which they possess them ; and those Blessings can only be derived from good Government. Not to mention, that general Virtue and good Morals in a State, which are so requisite to Happiness, can never arise from the most
refined

refined Precepts of Philosophy, or even the severest Injunctions of Religion ; but must proceed entirely from the virtuous Education of the Youth, the Effect of wise Laws and Institutions. I must, therefore, be of a different Opinion from my Lord BACON in this Particular, and must regard Antiquity as somewhat unjust in its Distribution of Honour, when it made Gods of all the Inventors of useful Arts, such as *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, *Æsculapius* ; and dignified Legislators ; such as *Romulus* and *Theseus*, only with the Appellation of Demi-Gods, and Heroes.

As much as Legislators and Founders of States ought to be honoured and respected among Men, as much ought the Founders of Sects and Factions to be detested and hated ; because the Influence of Factions is directly contrary to that of Laws. Factions subvert Government, render Laws impotent, and beget the fiercest Animosities among Men of the same Nation, who ought to give mutual Assistance and Protection to each other. And what should render the Founders of Factions more odious is, the Difficulty of extirpating Factions, when once they have taken Rise in any State. They naturally propagate themselves for many Centuries, and seldom end but by the total Dissolution of that Government, in which they are planted. They are, besides, Seeds which grow most plentifully in the richest Soils ; and tho' despotic Governments be not entirely free from them, it must be confess'd, that they rise more easily, and propagate themselves faster in free Governments, where they always infect the Legislature itself, which alone could be able, by the steady

Application of Rewards and Punishments, to eradicate them.

FACTIONS or Parties may be divided into PERSONAL and REAL; that is, into Factions founded on personal Friendship or Animosity among those who compose the Factions, and into those founded on some real Difference of Sentiment or Interest. The Reason of this Distinction is obvious, tho' I must acknowledge, that Parties are seldom found pure and unmixt, either of the one Kind or the other. 'Tis not often seen, that a Government divides into Factions, where there is no Difference in the Views of these Factions, either real or apparent, trivial or material: And in those Factions, which are founded on the most real and most material Difference, there is always observed to be a great deal of personal Animosity or Affection. But notwithstanding of this Mixture, a Party may be denominated either personal or real, according to that Principle which is predominant, and is found to have the greatest Influence.

PERSONAL Factions arise most easily in small Republics. Every domestic Quarrel becomes an Affair of State. Love, Vanity, Emulation, any Passion begets public Division, as well as Ambition and Resentment. The *Neri* and *Bianchi* of *Florence*, the *Fregosi* and *Adorni* of *Genoa*, the *Colonnefi* and *Orsini* of modern *Rome*, were Parties of this Kind.

MEN have such a Propensity to divide into personal Factions, that the smallest Appearance of real
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Difference will beget them. What can be imagined more trivial than the Difference betwixt one Colour of Livery and another in Horfe-Races? And yet this Difference begot two most inveterate Factions in the Greek Empire, the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, who never suspended their Animosities, till they ruined that unhappy Government.

WE find in the *Roman* History a very remarkable Faction betwixt two Tribes, the *Polia* and *Papiria*, which continued for the Space of near three hundred Years, and discovered itself in their Suffrages at every Election of Magistrates*. This Faction was the more remarkable, that it could continue for so long a Tract of Time; even tho' it did not spread itself, nor draw any of the other Tribes into a Share of the Quarrel. If Mankind had not a strong Propensity to such Divisions, the Indifference of the rest of the Community must have suppress'd this foolish Animo-

* As this Fact has not been much observed by Antiquaries or Politicians, I shall deliver it in the Words of the *Roman* Historian. *Populus Tusculanus cum conjugibus ac liberis Romam venit: Ea multitudo, veste mutata, & specie reorum tribus circuit, genibus se omnium advolvens. Plus itaque misericordia ad pœnæ veniam impetrandam, quam causa ad crimen purgandum valuit. Tribus omnes, præter Poliam, antiquarunt legem. Polliæ sententia fuit, puberes verberatos necari, liberos conjugesque sub corona lege belli venire: Memoriamque ejus iræ Tusculanis in pœnæ tam atrocis auctores mansisse ad patris ætatem constat; nec quemquam fere ex Pollia tribu candidatum Papiriam ferre solitam.* T. LIVII, lib. 8. The *Castelani* and *Nicolotti* are two mobbish Factions in *Venice*, who frequently box together, and then lay aside their Quarrels presently.

fity, which had not any Aliment of new Benefits and Injuries, of Sympathy and Antipathy, which never fail to take Place, when the whole State is rent into two equal Factions.

Nothing is more usual than to see Parties, which have begun upon a real Difference, continue even after that Difference is lost. When Men are once enlisted on different Sides, they contract an Affection to the Persons with whom they are united, and an Animosity against their Antagonists : And these Passions they often transmit to their Posterity. The real Difference betwixt *Guelf* and *Ghibbelline* was long in *Italy*, before these Factions were extinguished. The *Guelfs* adher'd to the Pope, the *Ghibbellines* to the Emperor ; and yet the Family of *Sforza*, who were in Alliance with the Emperor, though they were *Guelfs*, being expelled *Milan* by the King * of *France*, assisted by *Jacomo Trivulzio* and the *Ghibbellines*, the Pope concurred with them, and they form'd Leagues with the Pope against the Emperor.

THE Civil Wars, which arose some few Years ago in *Morocco*, betwixt the *Blacks* and *Whites*, merely on account of their Complexion, are founded on a very pleasant Difference. We laugh at them ; but I believe, were Things rightly examin'd, we afford much more Occasion of Ridicule to the *Moors*. For pray, what are all the Wars of Religion, which have prevailed in this polite and knowing Part of the World ?

* LEWIS XIth.

They are, in my Opinion, more absurd than the *Moorish* Civil Wars. The Difference of Complexion is a sensible and a real Difference: But the Difference about an Article of Faith, which is utterly absurd and unintelligible, is not a real Difference of Sentiments, but only a Difference of a few Phrases and Expressions, which one Party accepts of, without understanding them; and the other refuses, in the same Manner. Besides, I do not find, that the *Whites* in *Morocco* ever impos'd on the *Blacks* any Necessity of altering their Complexion, or threaten'd them with Inquisitions and penal Laws in case of Obstinacy: Nor have the *Blacks* been more unreasonable in this Particular. But is a Man's Opinion, where he is able to form a real Opinion, more at his Disposal than his Complexion? And can one be induc'd by Force or Fear to do more than paint and disguise in the one Case as well as in the other?

REAL Factions may be divided into Factions from Interest, from Principle, and from Affection. Of all Factions, those from Interest are the most reasonable, and the most excusable. Where two Orders of Men, such as the Nobles and People, have a distinct Authority in a Government, that is not very accurately balanc'd and modell'd, they naturally follow a distinct Interest; nor can we reasonably expect a different Conduct from that Degree of Selfishness, which is implanted in human Nature. It requires very great Skill in a Legislator to prevent such Factions; and many Philosophers are of Opinion, that this Secret, like the *Grand Elixir*, or *Perpetual Motion*, may amuse Men

in Theory, but can never possibly be reduc'd to Practice. In despotic Governments, indeed, Factions often do not appear; but they are never the less real; or rather, they are more real and more pernicious, upon that very Account. The distinct Orders of Men, Nobles and People, Soldiers and Merchants, have all a distinct Interest; but the more Powerful oppresses the Weaker with Impunity, and without Resistance; which begets a seeming Tranquillity in such Governments.

THERE has been an Attempt to divide the *landed* and *trading* Interest in *England*; but without Success. The Interest of these two Bodies is not really distinct, and never will be so, till our public Debts increase to such a Degree, as to become altogether oppressive and intolerable.

PARTIES from *Principles*, especially abstract speculative Principles, are known only to modern Times, and are, perhaps, the most extraordinary and unaccountable *Phænomena*, that have ever yet appear'd in human Affairs. Where different Principles beget a Contrariety of Conduct, as all different political Principles do, the Matter may be more easily explain'd. A Man, who esteems the true Right of Government to lye in one Man, or one Family, cannot easily agree with his Fellow-Citizen, who thinks, that another Man or Family is possess'd of this Right. Each naturally wishes that Right may take Place, according to his own Notions of it. But where the Difference of Principles begets no Contrariety of Action, but each
may

may follow his own Way, without interfering with his Neighbour, as happens in all religious Controversies ; what Madnefs, what Fury can beget such unhappy and fuch fatal Divifions ?

TWO Men, travelling on the Highway, the one East, the other West, can eafily pafs each other, if the Way be broad enough : But two Men, reasoning upon oppofite Principles of Religion, cannot fo eafily pafs, without fhocking ; tho' one fhould think, that the Way were alfo, in that Cafe, fufficiently broad, and that each might proceed, without Interruption, in his own Way. But fuch is the Nature of the human Mind, that it always takes hold of every Mind that approaches it ; and as it is wonderfully ftrengthen'd and corroborated by an Unanimity of Sentiments, fo it is fhock'd and disturb'd by any Contrariety. Hence the Eagernels, which moft People difcover in a Difpute ; and hence their Impatience of Oppofition, even in the moft speculative and indifferent Opinions.

THIS Principle, however frivolous it may appear, feems to have been the Origin of all religious Wars and Divifions. But, as this Principle is univerfal in human Nature, its Effects would not have been confin'd to one Age, and to one Sect of Religion, did it not there concur with other more accidental Caufes, which raife it to fuch a Height, as to produce the higheft Mifery and Devaftation. Moft Religions of the ancient World arofe in the unknown Ages of Government, when Men were as yet barbarous and uninstructed, and the Prince, as well as Peafant, was difpos'd

pos'd to receive, with implicate Faith, every pious Tale or Fiction that was offer'd him. The Magistrate embrac'd the Religion of the People, and entering cordially into the Care of sacred Matters, naturally acquir'd an Authority in them, and united the Ecclesiastical with the Civil Power. But the *Christian* Religion arising, while Principles directly opposite to it were firmly establish'd in the polite Part of the World, who despis'd the Nation that first broach'd this Novelty; no Wonder, that in such Circumstances, it was but little countenanc'd by the Civil Magistrate, and that the Priesthood were allow'd to engross all the Authority in the new Sect. So bad a Use did they make of this Power, even in those early Times, that the Persecutions of Christianity may, perhaps *, *in Part*, be ascrib'd to the Violence infus'd by them into their Followers. And the same Principles of Priestly Government continuing, after Christianity became the

* I say, *in Part*; For 'tis a vulgar Error to imagine, that the Ancients were as great Friends to Toleration as the *English* or *Dutch* are at present. The Laws against external Superstition were very ancient among the *Romans*; and the *Jews* as well as *Christians* were sometimes punish'd by them: Though, in general, these Laws were not rigorously executed. Immediately after the Conquest of *Gaul*, they forbade all but the Natives to be initiated into the Religion of the *Druids*; and this was a Kind of Persecution. In about a Century after this Conquest, they quite abolish'd that Superstition by penal Laws; which would have been a very grievous Persecution, if the Imitation of the *Roman* Manners had not, before-hand, wean'd the *Gauls* from their ancient Prejudices. *Suetonius in vita Claudii*. This is an Instance of the usual Caution and Moderation of the Ro-

the establish'd Religion, they have engender'd a Spirit of Persecution, which has ever since been the Poison of human Society, and the Source of the most inveterate Factions in every Government. Such Factions, therefore, on the Part of the People, may justly be esteem'd Factions of *Principle*, but, on the Part of the Priests, who are the prime Movers, they are really Factions of *Interest*.

THERE is another Cause (beside the Authority of the Priests, and the Separation of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Powers) that has contributed to render *Christianity* the Scene of religious Wars and Divisions. Religions, that arise in Ages totally ignorant and barbarous, consist mostly of traditional Tales and Fictions, which may be very different in every Sect, without being contrary to each other; and even when they are contrary, every one adheres to the Tradition of his own Sect, without much Reasoning or Disputation. But as Philosophy was widely spread over the World, at the Time that Christianity arose, the Teachers of the new Sect were oblig'd to form a System of speculative Opinions; to divide, with some Accuracy, their Articles of Faith; and to explain, comment, confute, and confirm with all the Subtlety of Argument and Science. From hence naturally arose Keen-

ness in such Cases; and very different from their violent and sanguinary Method of treating the *Christians*. Hence we may entertain a Suspicion, that those furious Persecutions of *Christianity* were, in some Measure, owing to the imprudent Zeal and Bigotry of the first Propagators of that Sect; and Ecclesiastical History affords us many Reasons to confirm this Suspicion.

ness in Dispute, when Christianity came to be split into new Divisions and Heresies : And this Keenness assisted the Priests in their pernicious Policy, of begetting a mutual Hatred and Antipathy among their deluded Followers. Sects of Philosophy, in the ancient World, were more zealous than Parties of Religion ; but, in modern Times, Parties of Religion are more furious and enrag'd than the most cruel Factions that ever arose from Interest and Ambition,

I HAVE mention'd Parties from *Affection* as a Kind of *real* Parties, beside those from *Interest* and *Principle*. By Parties from Affection, I understand those which are founded on the different Affections of Men towards particular Families and Persons, whom they desire to rule over them. These Parties are often very violent ; though, I must own, it is somewhat unaccountable, that Men should attach themselves so strongly to Persons, whom they are no Way acquainted with, whom perhaps they never saw, and from whom they never received, nor can ever hope for any Favour. Yet this we find often to be the Case, and even with Men, who, on other Occasions, discover no great Generosity of Spirit, nor are found to be easily transported by Friendship beyond their own Interest. We are apt, I know not how, to think the Relation betwixt us and our Sovereign very close and intimate. The Splendor of Majesty and Power bestows an Importance on the Fortunes even of a single Person. And when a Man's Good-nature does not give him this imaginary Interest, his Ill-nature will do it, from Spite and Opposition to Persons whose Sentiments are different from his own.

ESSAY XI.

Of the PARTIES of GREAT-BRITAIN.

WERE the *British* Government propos'd as a Subject of Speculation to a studious Man, he would immediately perceive in it a Source of Division and Party, which it would be almost impossible for it, in any Administration, to avoid. The just Balance betwixt the Republican and Monarchical Part of our Constitution is really, in itself, so extreme delicate and uncertain, that when join'd to Mens Passions and Prejudices, 'tis impossible but different Opinions must arise concerning it, even among Persons of the best Understanding. Those of mild Tempers, who love Peace and Order, and detest Sedition and Civil Wars, will always entertain more favourable Sentiments of Monarchy, than Men of bold and generous Spirits, who are passionate Lovers of Liberty, and think no Evil comparable to Subjection and Slavery. And tho' all reasonable 'Men agree in general to preserve our mix'd Government; yet when they come to Particulars, some will incline to trust larger Powers to the Crown, to bestow on it more Influence, and to guard
against

against its Encroachments with less Caution, than others who are terrified at the most distant Approaches of Tyranny and despotic Power. Thus there are Parties of PRINCIPLE involved in the very Nature of our Constitution, which may properly enough be denominated † COURT and COUNTRY Parties. The Strength and Violence of each of these Parties will much depend upon the particular Administration. An Administration may be so bad, as to throw a great Majority into the Country Party; as a good Administration will reconcile to the Court many of the most passionate Lovers of Liberty. But, however the Nation may fluctuate betwixt these two Parties, the Parties will always subsist, as long as we are govern'd by a limited Monarchy.

BUT, besides this Difference of *Principle*, those Parties are very much fomented by a Difference of INTEREST, without which they could scarce ever be dangerous or violent. The Crown will naturally

† These Words have become of general Use, and therefore I shall employ them, without intending to express by them an universal Blame of the one Party, or Approbation of the other. The Court-Party may, no Doubt, on some Occasions, consult best the Interest of the Country, and the Country-Party oppose it. In like Manner, the *Roman* Parties were denominated *Optimates* and *Populares*; and *Cicero*, like a true Party-Man, defines the *Optimates* to be such as, in all their publick Conduct, regulated themselves by the Sentiments of the best and worst of the *Romans*: *Pro Sextio*. The Term of *Country-Party* may afford a favourable Definition or Etymology of the same Kind: But it would be Folly to draw any Argument from that Head, and I have no Regard to it in employing these Terms.

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bestow all its Trust and Power upon those, whose Principles, real or pretended, are most favourable to Monarchical Government; and this Temptation will naturally engage them to go greater Lengths than their Principles would otherwise carry them. Their Antagonists, who are disappointed in their ambitious Aims, throw themselves into the Party whose Principles incline them to be most jealous of Royal Power, and naturally carry those Principles to a greater Length than sound Politics will justify. Thus, the *Court* and *Country* Parties, which are the genuine Factions of the *British* Government, are a Kind of mixt Parties, and are influenced both by Principle and by Interest. The Heads of the Parties are commonly most governed by the latter Motive; the inferior Members of them by the former. I must be understood to mean this of Persons who have Motives for taking Party on any Side. For, to tell the Truth, the greatest Part are commonly Men who associate themselves they know not why; from Example, from Passion, from Idleness. But still it is requisite there be some Source of Division, either in Principle or Interest; otherwise such Persons would not find Parties, to which they could associate themselves.

As to Ecclesiastical Parties; we may observe, that, in all Ages of the World, Priests have been Enemies to Liberty †, and 'tis certain, that this steady Conduct
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† This Proposition is true, notwithstanding, that in the early Times of the *English* Government, the Clergy were the great and principal Opposers of the Crown: But, at that Time, their Possessions

of theirs must have been founded on fixt Reasons of Interest and Ambition. Liberty of Thinking, and of expressing our Thoughts, is always fatal to Priestly Power, and to those pious Frauds, on which it is commonly founded ; and, by an infallible Connexion, which is found among every Species of Liberty, this Privilege can never be enjoy'd, at least, has never yet been enjoy'd, but in a free Government. Hence it must happen, that in such a Government as that of *Britain*, that the establish'd Clergy, while Things are in their natural Situation, will always be of the *Court-Party* ; as, on the contrary, Dissenters of all Kinds will be of the *Country-Party* ; since they can never hope for that Toleration they stand in need of, but by Means of our free Government. All Princes, that have aimed at despotic Power, have known this Important Interest of gaining the establish'd Clergy : As the Clergy, on their Side, have shewn a great Facility of entring into the Views of such Princes. *Gustavus Vaza* was, perhaps, the only ambitious Monarch, that ever depress'd the Church, at the same Time, that he discourag'd Liberty. But the exorbitant Power of the Bishops in *Sweden*, who, at that Time, overtop'd the Crown, along with their Attachment to a foreign Family, was the Reason of his embracing such an unusual System of Politics.

THIS Observation concerning the Propensity of Priests to despotic Power, and to the Government of

Possessions were so immensely great, that they compos'd a considerable Part of the Proprietors of *England*, and in many Contexts were direct Rivals of the Crown.

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a single Person, is not true with regard to one Sect only. The *Presbyterian* and *Calvinistic* Clergy in *Holland* were always profess'd Friends to the Power of the Family of *Orange*; as the *Arminians*, who were esteem'd Heretics, were always of the *Louvestein* Faction, and zealous for Liberty. But if a Prince has the Choice of both, 'tis easy to see, that he will prefer the Episcopal to the Presbyterian Form of Government; both because of the greater Affinity betwixt Monarchy and Episcopacy, and because of the Facility which a Prince finds, in such a Government, of ruling the Clergy, by Means of their Ecclesiastical Superiors.

IF we consider the first Rise of Parties in *England*, during the Civil Wars, we shall find, that it was exactly conformable to this general Theory, and that the Species of the Government gave Birth to these Parties, by a regular and infallible Operation. The *English* Constitution, before that Time, had lain in a Kind of Confusion; yet so, as that the Subjects possess'd many noble Privileges, which, though not, perhaps, exactly bounded and secur'd by Law, were universally deem'd, from long Possession, to belong to them as their Birth-Right. An ambitious, or rather an ignorant, Prince arose, who esteem'd all these Privileges to be Concessions of his Predecessors, revocable at Pleasure; and, in Prosecution of this Principle, he openly acted in Violation of Liberty, during the Course of several Years. Necessity, at last, constrain'd him to call a Parliament: The Spirit of Liberty arose and spread itself: The Prince, being without any
1 Support,

Support, was obliged to grant every thing required of him : And his Enemies, jealous and implacable, set no Bounds to their Pretensions. Here then begun those Contests, in which it was no Wonder, that Men of that Age were divided into different Parties ; since, even at this Day, the Impartial are at a Loss to decide concerning the Justice of the Quarrel. The Pretensions of the Parliament, if yielded to, broke the Balance of our Constitution, by rendering the Government almost intirely Republican. If not yielded to, we were, perhaps, still in Danger of despotic Power, from the settled Principles and inveterate Habits of the King, which had plainly appear'd in every Concession that he had been constrain'd to make to his People. In this Question, so delicate and uncertain, Men naturally fell to the Side which was most conformable to their usual Principles ; and those, who were the most passionate Favourers of Monarchy declar'd for the King, as the zealous Friends of Liberty sided with the Parliament. The Hopes of Success being nearly equal on both Sides, *Interest* had little Influence in this Contest : So that ROUND-HEAD and CAVALIER were merely Parties of Principle ; neither of which disown'd either Monarchy or Liberty ; but the former Party inclin'd most to the Republican Part of our Government, and the latter to the Monarchical. In which Respect they may be considered as Court and Country-Party inflam'd into a Civil War, by an unhappy Concurrence of Circumstances, and by the turbulent Spirit of the Age. The Commonwealth's Men, and the Partizans of despotic Power, lay conceal'd in both Parties, and form'd but an inconsiderable Part of them.

THE Clergy had concurr'd, in a shameless Manner, with the King's arbitrary Designs, according to their usual Maxims in such Cases : And, in Return, were allow'd to persecute their Adversaries, whom they call'd Heretics and Schismatics. The establish'd Clergy were Episcopal ; the Non-conformists Presbyterian : So that all Things concurr'd to throw the former, without Reserve, into the King's Party ; and the latter into that of the Parliament. The *Cavaliers* being the Court-Party, and the *Round-heads* the Country-Party, the Union was infallible betwixt the former and the establish'd Prelacy, and betwixt the latter and Presbyterian Non-conformists. This Union is so natural, according to the general Principles of Politics, that it requires some very extraordinary Situation of Affairs to break it.

EVERY one knows the Event of this Quarrel ; fatal to the King first, and to the Parliament afterwards. After many Confusions and Revolutions, the Royal Family was at last restor'd, and the Government establish'd on the same Footing as before. *Charles II.* was not made wiser by the dreadful Example of his Father ; but prosecuted the same Measures, tho' at first, with more Secrecy and Caution. New Parties arose, under the Appellations of WHIG and TORY, which have continued ever since to confound and distract our Government. What the Nature is of these Parties, is, perhaps, one of the most difficult Questions that can be met with, and is a Proof, that History may contain Problems, as uncertain as any that are to be found in the most abstract Sciences.

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di
DIRITTO COMPARATO

We have seen the Conduct of these two Parties, during the Course of Seventy Years, in a vast Variety of Circumstances, possess'd of Power, and depriv'd of it, during Peace and during War : We meet with Persons, who profess themselves of one Side or t'other, every Hour, in Company, in our Pleasures, in our serious Occupations : We ourselves are constrain'd, in a Manner, to take Party ; and living in a Country of the highest Liberty, every one may openly declare all his Sentiments and Opinions : And yet we are at a Loss to tell the Nature, Pretensions, and Principles of the two Parties. The Question is, perhaps, in itself, somewhat difficult ; but has been render'd more so, by the Prejudices and Violence of Party.

WHEN we compare the Parties of *Whig* and *Tory*, to those of *Round-head* and *Cavalier*, the most obvious Difference, that appears betwixt them, consists in the Doctrines of *passive Obedience*, and *indefeasible Right*, which were but little heard of among the *Cavaliers*, but became the universal Doctrine, and were esteem'd the true Characteristic of a *Tory*. Were these Principles push'd into their most obvious Consequences, they imply a formal Renunciation of all our Liberties, and an Avowal of absolute Monarchy ; since nothing can be a greater Absurdity than a limited Power, which must not be resisted, even when it exceeds its Limitations. But as the most rational Principles are often but a weak Counterpoise to Passion ; 'tis no Wonder, that these absurd Principles, *sufficient*, according to a justly celebrated † Author, *to shock the common Sense of*

† Dissertation on Parties, Letter 2d.

a HOTTENTOT or SAMOIEDE, were found too weak for that Effect. The *Tories*, as Men, were Enemies to Oppression; and also, as *Englishmen*, they were Enemies to despotic Power. Their Zeal for Liberty, was, perhaps, less fervent than that of their Antagonists; but was sufficient to make them forget all their general Principles, when they saw themselves openly threatened with a Subversion of the ancient Government. From these Sentiments arose the *Revolution*; an Event of mighty Consequence, and the firmest Foundation of *British* Liberty. The Conduct of the *Tories*, during that Event, and after it, will afford us a true Insight into the Nature of that Party.

IN the *first* Place, They appear to have had the Sentiments of true *Britons* in their Affection to Liberty, and in their determin'd Resolution not to sacrifice it to any abstract Principles whatsoever, or to any imaginary Rights of Princes. This Part of their Character might justly have been doubted of before the *Revolution*, from the obvious Tendency of their avow'd Principles, and from their almost unbounded Compliances with a Court, that made little Secret of its arbitrary Designs. The *Revolution* shew'd them to have been, in this Respect, nothing but a genuine *Court-Party*, such as might be expected in a *British* Government: That is, *Lovers of Liberty, but greater Lovers of Monarchy*. It must, however, be confess'd, that they carry'd their monarchical Principles further, even in Practice, but more so in Theory, than was, in any Degree, consistent with a limited Government.

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Secondly, NEITHER their Principles nor Affections concurr'd, entirely or heartily, with the Settlement made at the *Revolution*, or with that which has since taken Place. This Part of their Character may seem contradictory to the former; since any other Settlement, in those Circumstances of the Nation, must probably have been dangerous, if not fatal to Liberty. But the Heart of Man is made to reconcile Contradictions; and this Contradiction is not greater than that betwixt *Passive Obedience*, and the *Resistance* employ'd at the *Revolution*. A *Tory*, therefore, since the *Revolution*, may be defin'd in a few Words to be a *Lover of Monarchy, tho' without abandoning Liberty; and a Partizan of the Family of STUART*. As a *Whig* may be defin'd to be a *Lover of Liberty, tho' without renouncing Monarchy; and a Friend to the Settlement in the Protestant Line* *.

THESE

* The celebrated Writer above-cited has asserted, that the REAL Distinction betwixt *Whig* and *Tory* was lost at the *Revolution*, and that ever since they have continued to be mere *personal Parties*, like the *Guelfs* and *Ghibbellines*, after the Emperors had lost all Authority in *Italy*. Such an Opinion, were it received, would turn our whole History into an *Ænigma*.

I shall first mention, as a Proof of a real Distinction betwixt these Parties, what every one may have observ'd or heard concerning the Conduct and Conversation of all his Friends and Acquaintance on both Sides. Have not the *Tories* always bore an avowed Affection to the Family of *Stuart*, and have not their Adversaries always opposed with Vigour the Succession of that Family?

The *Tory* Principles are confessedly the most favourable to Monarchy. Yet the *Tories* have almost always opposed the

Court

THESE different Views, with regard to the Settlement of the Crown, are accidental, but natural Additions to the Principles of the *Court* and *Country* Parties, which are the genuine Parties of the *British*

Court these fifty Years ; nor were they cordial Friends to King *William*, even when employ'd by him. Their Quarrel, therefore, cannot be supposed to have lain with the Throne, but with the Person who sat on it.

They concurr'd heartily with the Court during the four last Years of *Queen Anne*. But is any one at a Loss to find the Reason ?

The Succession of the Crown in the *British* Government is a Point of too great Consequence to be absolutely indifferent to Persons, who concern themselves, in any Degree, about the Fortune of the Public ; much less can it be suppos'd, that the *Tory* Party, who never valu'd themselves upon Moderation, could maintain a *Stoical* Indifference in a Point of so great Importance. Were they, therefore, zealous for the House of *Hanover* ? Or was there any thing, that kept an opposite Zeal from openly appearing, if it did not openly appear, but Prudence, and a Sense of Deacency ?

'Tis monstrous to see an establish'd Episcopal Clergy in declar'd Opposition to the Court, and a Non-conformist Presbyterian Clergy in Conjunction with it. What can produce such an unnatural Conduct in both ? Nothing, but that the former have espoused Monarchical Principles too high for the present Settlement, which is founded on Principles of Liberty : And the latter, being afraid of the Prevalence of those high Principles, adhere to that Party, from whom they have Reason to expect Liberty and Toleration.

The different Conduct of the two Parties, with regard to foreign Politics, is also a Proof to the same Purpose. *Holland* has always been most favour'd by one, and *France* by the other. In short, the Proofs of this Kind seem so palpable and evident, that 'tis almost needless to collect them.

Government. A passionate Lover of Monarchy is apt to be displeased at any Change of the Succession ; as favouring too much of a Commonwealth : A passionate Lover of Liberty is apt to think that every Part of the Government ought to be subordinate to the Interests of Liberty. 'Tis however remarkable, that though the Principles of *Whig* and *Tory* be both of them of a Compound Nature ; yet the Ingredients, which predominated in both, were not correspondent to each other. A *Tory* loved Monarchy, and bore an Affection to the Family of *Stuart* ; but the latter Affection was the predominant Inclination of the Party. A *Whig* loved Liberty, and was a Friend to the Settlement in the *Protestant* Line ; but the Love of Liberty was professedly his predominant Inclination. The *Tories* have frequently acted as Republicans, where either Policy or Revenge has engag'd them to that Conduct ; and there were none of that Party, who, upon the Supposition, that they were to be disappointed in their Views with regard to the Succession, would not have desired to impose the strictest Limitations on the Crown, and to bring our Form of Government as near Republican as possible, in order to depress the Family, that, according to their Apprehension, succeeded without any just Title. The *Whigs*, 'tis true, have also taken Steps dangerous to Liberty, under Colour of securing the Succession and Settlement of the Crown, according to their Views : But as the Body of the Party had no Passion for that Succession, otherwise than as the Means of securing Liberty, they have been betray'd into these Steps by Ignorance or Frailty, or the Interest of their Leaders.

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The Succession of the Crown was, therefore, the chief Point with the *Tories*: The Security of our Liberties with the *Whigs*. Nor is this seeming Irregularity at all difficult to be accounted for, by our present Theory. *Court* and *Country* Parties are the true Parents of *Tory* and *Whig*. But 'tis almost impossible, that the Attachment of the *Court* Party to Monarchy should not degenerate into an Attachment to the Monarch; there being so close a Connexion betwixt them, and the latter being so much the more natural Object. How easily does the Worship of the Divinity degenerate into a Worship of the Idol? The Connexion is not so great betwixt Liberty, the Divinity of the old *Country* Party or *Whigs*, and any Monarch or Royal Family; nor is it so reasonable to suppose, that, in that Party, the Worship can so easily be transferr'd from the one to the other. Tho' even that would be no great Miracle.

'Tis difficult to penetrate into the Thoughts and Sentiments of any particular Man; but 'tis almost impossible to distinguish those of a whole Party, where it often happens, that no two Persons agree precisely in the same Way of thinking. Yet I will venture to affirm, that it was not so much PRINCIPLE, or an Opinion of indefeazible Right, that attach'd the *Tories* to the ancient Royal Family, as AFFECTION, or a certain Love and Esteem for their Persons. The same Cause divided *England* formerly betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and *Scotland*, betwixt the Families of *Bruce* and *Balliol*; in an Age, when political Disputes were but little in Fashion, and when

political *Principles* must of Course have had but little Influence on Mankind. The Doctrine of passive Obedience is so absurd in itself, and so opposite to our Liberties, that it seems to have been chiefly left to Pulpit-Declaimers, and to their deluded Followers among the Mob. Men of better Sense were guided by *Affection*; and as to the Leaders of this Party, 'tis probable, that *Interest* was their chief Motive, and that they acted more contrary to their private Sentiments, than the Leaders of the opposite Party. Tho' 'tis almost impossible to maintain with Zeal the Right of any Person or Family, without acquiring a Good-will to them, and changing the *Principle* into *Affection*; yet this is less natural to People of an elevated Station and liberal Education, who have had ample Opportunity of observing the Weakness, Folly, and Arrogance of Monarchs, and have found them to be nothing superior, if not rather inferior, to the rest of Mankind. The *Interest*, therefore, of being Heads of a Party does often, with such People, supply the Place both of *Principle* and *Affection*.

SOME, who will not venture to assert, that the *real* Difference betwixt *Whig* and *Tory* was lost at the *Revolution*, seem inclin'd to think, that the Difference is now abolish'd, and that Affairs are so far returned to their natural State, that there are at present no other Parties amongst us but *Court* and *Country*; that is, Men, who by Interest or Principle are attach'd either to Monarchy or to Liberty. It must, indeed, be confess'd, that the *Tory* Party seem, of late, to have decay'd much in their Numbers; still more in their Zeal;
and

and I may venture to say, still more in their Credit and Authority. There are few Men of Knowledge or Learning, at least, few Philosophers, since Mr. *Locke* has wrote, who would not be asham'd to be thought of that Party; and in almost all Companies the Name of OLD WHIG is mention'd as an uncontestable Appellation of Honour and Dignity. Accordingly, the Enemies of the Ministry, as a Reproach, call the Courtiers, the true *Tories*; and as an Honour, denominate the Gentlemen in the *Opposition* the true *Whigs*. The *Tories* have been so long oblig'd to talk in the Republican Stile, that they seem to have made Converts of themselves by their Hypocrisy, and to have embrac'd the Sentiments, as well as Language of their Adversaries. There are, however, very considerable Remains of that Party in *England*, with all their old Prejudices; and a Proof, that *Court* and *Country* are not our only Parties, is, that almost all the Dissenters side with the Court, and the lower Clergy, at least, of the Church of *England*, with the Opposition. This may convince us, that some Byass still hangs upon our Constitution, some extrinsic Weight, which turns it from its natural Course, and causes a Confusion in our Parties.

I SHALL conclude this Subject with observing, that we never had any *Tories* in *Scotland*, according to the proper Signification of the Word, and that the Division of Parties in this Country was really into *Whigs* and *Jacobites*. A *Jacobite* seems to be a *Tory*, who has no Regard to the Constitution, but is either a zealous Partizan of absolute Monarchy, or at least

willing to sacrifice our Liberties to the obtaining the Succession in that Family to which he is attach'd. The Reason of the Difference betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, I take to be this : Our political and our religious Divisions in this Country, have been, since the *Revolution*, regularly correspondent to each other. The *Presbyterians* were all *Whigs* without Exception : Those who favour'd *Episcopacy*, of the opposite Party. And as the Clergy of the latter Sect were turn'd out of their Churches at the *Revolution*, they had no Motive for making any Compliances with the Government in their Oaths or Forms of Prayers, but openly avowed the highest Principles of their Party ; which is the Cause, why their Followers have been more barefac'd and violent than their Brethren of the *Tory* Party in *England*.

ESSAY XII.

Of SUPERSTITION and EN- THUSIASM.

THAT the Corruption of the best Things produces the worst, is grown into a Maxim, and is commonly prov'd, among other Instances, by the pernicious Effects of *Superstition* and *Enthusiasm*, the Corruptions of true Religion.

THESE two Species of false Religion, tho' both pernicious, are yet of a very different, and even of a contrary Nature. The Mind of Man is subject to certain unaccountable Terrors and Apprehensions, proceeding either from the unhappy Situation of private or public Affairs, from ill Health, from a gloomy and melancholy Disposition, or from the Concurrence of all these Circumstances. In such a State of Mind, infinite unknown Evils are dreaded from unknown Agents; and where real Objects of Terror are wanting, the Soul, active to its own Prejudice, and fostering its predominant Inclination, finds imaginary Ones, to whose Power and Malevolence it sets no Limits. As these Enemies are entirely invisible and unknown, the Methods taken to appease them are equally

unaccountable, and consist in Ceremonies, Observances, Mortifications, Sacrifices, Presents, or in any Practice, however absurd and frivolous, which either Folly or Knavery recommends to a blind and terrify'd Credulity. Weakness, Fear, Melancholy, along with Ignorance, are, therefore, the true Sources of SUPERSTITION.

BUT the Mind of Man is also subject to an unaccountable Elevation and Presumption, proceeding from prosperous Success, from luxuriant Health, from strong Spirits, or from a bold and confident Disposition. In such a State of Mind, the Imagination swells with great, but confus'd Conceptions, to which no sublunary Beauties or Enjoyments can correspond. Every thing mortal and perishable vanishes as unworthy of Attention. And a full Range is given to the Fancy in the invisible Regions or World of Spirits, where the Soul is at Liberty to indulge itself in every Imagination, that may best suit its present Taste and Disposition. Hence arise Raptures, Transports, and surprizing Flights of Fancy; and Confidence and Presumption still increasing, these Raptures, being altogether unaccountable, and seeming quite beyond the Reach of our ordinary Faculties, are attributed to the immediate Inspiration of that Divine Being who is the Object of Devotion. In a little Time, the inspir'd Person comes to regard himself as the chief Favourite of the Divinity; and when this Frenzy once takes Place, which is the Summit of Enthusiasm, every Whimsy is consecrated: Human Reason, and even Morality are rejected as fallacious Guides: And
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the Fanatick Madman delivers himself over, blindly, and without Reserve, to the supposed Illapses of the Spirit, and to Inspirations from above. Hope, Pride, Presumption, a warm Imagination, along with Ignorance, are, therefore, the true Sources of ENTHUSIASM.

THESE two Species of false Religion might afford Occasion to many Speculations; but I shall confine myself, at present, to a few Reflections concerning their different Influence on Government and Society.

MY first Reflection is, *That Superstition is favourable to priestly Power, and Enthusiasm as much or rather more contrary to it, than sound Reason and Philosophy.* As Superstition is founded on Fear, Sorrow, and a Depression of Spirits, it represents the Person to himself in such despicable Colours, that he appears unworthy, in his own Eyes, of approaching the Divine Presence, and naturally has Recourse to any other Person, whose Sanctity of Life, or, perhaps, Impudence and Cunning, have made him be supposed to be more favoured by the Divinity. To him the Superstitious entrust their Devotions: To his Care they recommend their Prayers, Petitions, and Sacrifices: And, by his Means, hope to render their Addresses acceptable to their incensed Deity. Hence the Origin of *PRIESTS, who may justly be regarded as one of the

* By *Priests*, I here mean only the Pretenders to Power and Dominion, and to a superior Sanctity of Character, distinct

the grossest Inventions of a timorous and abject Superstition, which, ever diffident of itself, dares not offer up its own Devotions, but ignorantly thinks to recommend itself to the Divinity, by the Mediation of his supposed Friends and Servants. As Superstition is a considerable Ingredient in almost all Religions, even the most fanatical; there being nothing but Philosophy able to conquer entirely these unaccountable Terrors; hence it proceeds, that in almost every Sect of Religion there are Priests to be found: But the stronger Mixture there is of Superstition, the higher is the Authority of the Priesthood. Modern Judaism and Popery, especially the latter, being the most barbarous and absurd Superstitions that have yet been known in the World, are the most enslav'd by their Priests. As the Church of *England* may justly be said to retain a strong Mixture of Popish Superstition, it partakes also, in its original Constitution, of a Propensity to Priestly Power and Dominion; particularly in the Respect it exacts to the Priest. And though, according to the Sentiments of that Church, the Prayers of the Priest must be accompanied with those of the Laity; yet is he the Mouth of the Congregation, his Person is sacred, and without his Presence few would think their public Devotions, or the Sacraments, and other Rites, acceptable to the Divinity.

from Virtue and good Morals. These are very different from *Clergymen*, who are set apart, by the *Laws*, to the Care of sacred Matters, and to the conducting our publick Devotions with greater Decency and Order. There is no Rank of Men more to be respected than the latter.

ON the other Hand, it may be observed, that all Enthusiasts have been free from the Yoke of Ecclesiastics, and have exprest a great Independence in their Devotion ; with a Contempt of Forms, Traditions, and Authorities. The *Quakers* are the most egregious, though, at the same Time, the most innocent, Enthusiasts that have been yet known ; and are, perhaps, the only Sect, that have never admitted Priests amongst them. The *Independents*, of all the *English* Sectaries, approach nearest to the *Quakers* in Fanaticism, and in their Freedom from Priestly Bondage. The *Presbyterians* follow after, at an equal Distance in both these Particulars. In short, this Observation is founded on the most certain Experience ; and will also appear to be founded on Reason, if we consider, that as Enthusiasm arises from a presumptuous Pride and Confidence, it thinks itself sufficiently qualified to *approach* the Divinity, without any human Mediator. Its rapturous Devotions are so fervent, that it even imagines itself *actually* to *approach* him by the Way of Contemplation and inward Converse ; which makes it neglect all those outward Ceremonies and Observances, to which the Assistance of the Priests appears so requisite in the Eyes of their superstitious Votaries. The Fanatic consecrates himself, and bestows on his own Person a sacred Character, much superior to what Forms and ceremonious Institutions can confer on any other.

My second Reflection with regard to these Species of false Religion is, that Religions, which partake of
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Enthusiasm are, on their first Rise, much more furious and violent than those which partake of Superstition ; but in a little Time become much more gentle and moderate. The violence of this Species of Religion, when excited by Novelty, and animated by Opposition, appears from numberless Instances ; of the *Anabaptists* in *Germany*, the *Camisars* in *France*, the *Levellers* and other Fanaticks in *England*, and the *Covenanters* in *Scotland*. As Enthusiasm is founded on strong Spirits, and a presumptuous Boldness of Character, it naturally begets the most extreme Resolutions ; especially after it rises to that Height as to inspire the deluded Fanaticks with the Opinion of Divine Illuminations, and with a Contempt of the common Rules of Reason, Morality and Prudence.

Thus Enthusiasm produces the most cruel Desolations in human Society : But its Fury is like that of Thunder and Tempest, which exhaust themselves in a little Time, and leave the Air more calm and serene than before. When the first Fire of Enthusiasm is spent, Men naturally, in such fanatical Sects, sink into the greatest Remissness and Coolness in Sacred Matters ; there being no Body of Men amongst them, endow'd with sufficient Authority, whose Interest is concerned to support the religious Spirit. Superstition, on the contrary, steals in gradually and insensibly ; renders Men tame and submissive ; is acceptable to the Magistrate, and seems inoffensive to the People : Till at last the Priest, having firmly establish'd his Authority, becomes the Tyrant and Disturber

sturber of human Society, by his endless Contentions, Persecutions, and religious Wars. How smoothly did the *Romish* Church advance in their Acquisition of Power? But into what dismal Convulsions did they throw all *Europe*, in order to maintain it? On the other Hand, our Sectaries, who were formerly such dangerous Bigots, are now become our greatest Free-thinkers; and the *Quakers* are, perhaps, the only regular Body of *Deists* in the Universe, except the *Literati*, or Disciples of *Confucius* in *China*.

My *third* Observation on this Head is, that Superstition is an Enemy to Civil Liberty, and Enthusiasm a Friend to it. As Superstition groans under the Dominion of the Priests, and Enthusiasm is destructive of all Ecclesiastical Power, this sufficiently accounts for the present Observation. Not to mention, that Enthusiasm, being the Infirmary of bold and ambitious Tempers, is naturally accompanied with a Spirit of Liberty; as Superstition, on the contrary, renders Men tame and abject, and fits them for Slavery. We learn from the *English* History, that, during the Civil Wars, the *Independents* and *Deists*, tho' the most opposite in their religious Principles; yet were united in their political Ones, and were alike passionate for a Commonwealth. And since the Origin of *Whig* and *Tory*, the Leaders of the *Whigs* have either been *Deists* or profest *Latitudinarians* in their Principles; that is, Friends to Toleration, and indifferent to any particular Sect of *Christians*: While the Sectaries, who have all a strong Tincture of Enthusiasm, have always, without Exception, concurr'd with that Party,
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in the Defence of Civil Liberty. The Resemblance in their Superstitions long united the High-Church *Tories* and the *Roman Catholics*, in the Support of Prerogative and Kingly Power; tho' Experience of the tolerating Spirit of the *Whigs* seems of late to have reconcil'd the *Catholics* to that Party.

THE *Molinists* and *Jansenists* in France have a thousand unintelligible Disputes, which are not worthy the Attention of a Man of Sense: But what principally distinguishes these two Sects, and alone merits our Attention, is the different Spirit of their Religion. The *Molinists*, conducted by the *Jesuites*, are great Friends to Superstition, rigid Observers of external Forms and Ceremonies, and devoted to the Authority of the Priests, and to Tradition. The *Jansenists* are Enthusiasts, and zealous Promoters of the passionate Devotion, and of the inward Life; little influenc'd by Authority; and, in a Word, but Half Catholics. The Consequences are exactly conformable to the foregoing Reasoning. The *Jesuites* are the Tyrants and the Slaves of the Court: And the *Jansenists* preserve alive the small Sparks of the Love of Liberty, which are to be found in the French Nation.



ESSAY XIII.

Of AVARICE.

THIS easy to observe, that Comic Writers exaggerate every Character, and draw their Fop, or Coward with stronger Features than are any where to be met with in Nature. This moral Kind of Painting for the Stage has been often compar'd to the Painting for Cupolas and Ceilings, where the Colours are overcharg'd, and every Part is drawn excessively large, and beyond Nature. The Figures seem monstrous and disproportion'd, when seen too nigh; but become natural and regular, when set at a Distance, and placed in that Point of View, in which they are intended to be survey'd. After the same Manner, when Characters are exhibited in theatrical Representations, the Want of Reality sets the Personages at a Distance from us; and rendering them more cold and unentertaining, makes it necessary to compensate, by the Force of Colouring, what they want in Substance. Thus, we find in common Life, that when a Man once allows himself to depart from Truth in his Narrations, he never can keep within the Bounds of Probability; but adds still some new Circumstance to render his Stories more marvellous, and to satisfy his Imagination. Two
Men

Men in Buckram Suits became eleven to Sir *John Falstaff* before the End of his Story.

THERE is only one Vice, which may be found in Life with as strong Features, and as high a Colouring, as need be employ'd by any Satyrill or Comic Poet; and that is AVARICE. Every Day we meet with Men of immense Fortunes, without Heirs, and on the very Brink of the Grave, who refuse themselves the most common Necessaries of Life, and go on heaping Possessions on Possessions, under all the real Pressures of the severest Poverty. An old Usurer, says the Story, lying in his last Agonies, was presented by the Priest with the Crucifix to worship. He opens his Eyes a Moment before he expires, considers the Crucifix, and cries, *These Jewels are not true; I can only lend ten Pistoles upon such a Pledge.* This was probably the Invention of some Epigrammatist; and yet every one, from his own Experience, may be able to recollect almost as strong Instances of Perseverance in Avarice. 'Tis commonly reported of a famous Miser in this City, that finding himself near Death, he sent for some of the Magistrates, and gave them a Bill of an hundred Pounds, payable after his Decease; which Sum he intended should be disposed of in charitable Uses; but scarce were they gone, when he orders them to be called back, and offers them ready Money, if they would abate five Pounds of the Sum. Another noted Miser in the North, intending to defraud his Heirs, and leave his Fortune to the building an Hospital, protracted the drawing of his Will from Day to Day; and 'tis thought, that if those interested in it had

had not paid for the Drawing of it, he had died intestate. In short, none of the most furious Excesses of Love and Ambition are in any Respect to be compared to the Extremes of Avarice.

THE best Excuse that can be made for Avarice is, that it generally prevails in old Men, or in Men of cold Tempers, where all the other Affections are extinct; and the Mind being incapable of remaining without some Passion or Pursuit, at last finds out this monstrous unreasonable one, which suits the Coldness and Inactivity of its Temper. At the same Time, it seems very extraordinary, that so frosty, spiritless a Passion should be able to carry us farther than all the Warmth of Youth and Pleasure. But if we look more narrowly into the Matter, we shall find, that this very Circumstance renders the Explication of the Case more easy. When the Temper is warm, and full of Vigour, it naturally shoots out more Ways than one, and produces inferior Passions to counter-balance, in some Degree, its predominant Inclination. 'Tis impossible for a Person of that Temper, however bent on any Pursuit, to be depriv'd of all Sense of Shame, or Regard to the Sentiments of Mankind. His Friends must have some Influence over him: And other Considerations are apt to have their Weight. All this serves to restrain him within some Bounds. But 'tis no Wonder the avaritious Man, being, from the Coldness of his Temper, without regard to Reputation, to Friendship, or to Pleasure, should be carried so far by his prevailing Inclination, and should display his Passion in such surprizing Instances.

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ACCORDINGLY we find no Vice so irreclaimable as Avarice: And tho' there scarcely has been a Moralist or Philosopher, from the Beginning of the World to this Day, who has not levell'd a Stroke at it, we hardly find a single Instance of any Person's being cur'd of it. For this Reason, I am more apt to approve of those, who attack it with Wit and Humour, than of those who treat it in a serious Manner. There being so little Hopes of doing Good to the People infected with this Vice, I would have the rest of Mankind, at least, diverted by our Manner of exposing it: As indeed there is no Kind of Diversion, of which they seem so willing to partake.

AMONG the Fables of *Monsieur de la Motte*, there is one levell'd against Avarice, which seems to me more natural and easy, than most of the Fables of that ingenious Author. A Miser, says he, being dead, and fairly interred, came to the Banks of the *Styx*, desiring to be ferry'd over along with the other Ghosts. *Charon* demands his Fare, and is surpriz'd to see the Miser, rather than pay it, throw himself into the River, and swim over to the other Side, notwithstanding all the Clamour and Opposition that could be made to him. All Hell was in an Uproar; and each of the Judges was meditating some Punishment, suitable to a Crime of such dangerous Consequence to the infernal Revenues. Shall he be chain'd to the Rock along with *Prometheus*? Or tremble below the Precipice in Company with the *Danaides*? Or assist *Sisyphus* in rolling his Stone? No, says *Minos*, none of these.

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We must invent some severer Punishment. Let him be sent back to the Earth, to see the Use his Heirs are making of his Riches.

I HOPE it will not be interpreted as a Design of setting myself in Opposition to this famous Author, if I proceed to deliver a Fable of my own, which is intended to expose the same Vice of Avarice. The Hint of it was taken from these Lines of Mr. Pope,

*Damn'd to the Mines, an equal Fate betides
The Slave that digs it, and the Slave that hides.*

OUR old Mother Earth once lodg'd an Indictment against AVARICE before the Courts of Heaven, for her wicked and malicious Counsel and Advice, in tempting, inducing, persuading, and traiterously seducing the Children of the Plaintiff to commit the detestable Crime of Parricide upon her, and, mangling her Body, ransack her very Bowels for hidden Treasure. The Indictment was very long and verbose; but we must omit a great Part of the Repetitions and Synonymous Terms, not to tire our Reader too much with our Tale. *Avarice*, being call'd before *Jupiter* to answer to this Charge, had not much to say in her own Defence. The Injury was clearly prov'd upon her. The Fact, indeed, was notorious, and the Injury had been frequently repeated. When therefore the Plaintiff demanded Justice, *Jupiter* very readily gave Sentence in her Favour; and his Decree was to this Purpose, That since Dame *Avarice*, the Defendant, had thus grievously injur'd Dame *Earth*,

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the Plaintiff, she was hereby ordered to take that Treasure, of which she had feloniously robb'd the said Plaintiff, by ransacking her Bosom, and in the same Manner, as before, opening her Bosom, restore it back to her, without Diminution or Retention. From this Sentence, it shall follow, says *Jupiter* to the By-standers, That, in all future Ages, the Retainers of *Avarice* shall bury and conceal their Riches, and thereby restore to the Earth what they took from her.

ESSAY XIV.

Of the DIGNITY of HUMAN NATURE.

THERE are certain Sects, which secretly form themselves in the learned World, as well as in the political ; and tho' sometimes they come not to an open Rupture, yet they give a different Turn to the Ways of thinking of those who have taken Party on either Side. The most remarkable of this Kind are the Sects, that are founded on the different Sentiments with regard to the *Dignity of human Nature* ; which is a Point that seems to have divided Philosophers and Poets, as well as Divines, from the Beginning of the World to this Day. Some exalt our Species to the Skies, and represent Man as a Kind of human Demi-God, that derives his Origin from Heaven, and retains evident Marks of his Lineage and Descent. Others insist upon the blind Sides of human Nature, and can discover nothing, except Vanity, in which Man surpasses the other Animals, whom he affects so much to despise. If an Author possesses the Talent of Rhetorick, and Declamation, he commonly takes Party with the former : If his Turn lies towards Irony and Ridicule, he naturally throws himself into the other Extreme.

I AM far from thinking, that all those, who have depreciated Human Nature, have been Enemies to Virtue, and have exposed the Frailties of their Fellow-Creatures with any bad Intention. On the contrary, I am sensible, that a very delicate Sense of Virtue, especially when attended with somewhat of the *Misanthrops*, is apt to give a Man a Disgust of the World, and to make him consider the common Course of Human Affairs with too much Spleen and Indignation. I must, however, be of Opinion, that the Sentiments of those, who are inclined to think favourably of Mankind, are much more advantageous to Virtue, than the contrary Principles which give us a mean Opinion of our Nature. When a Man is possess'd of a high Notion of his Rank and Character in the Creation, he will naturally endeavour to act up to it, and will scorn to do a base or vicious Action, which might sink him below that Figure which he makes in his own Imagination. Accordingly we find, that all our polite and fashionable Moralists insist upon this Topic, and endeavour to represent Vice as unworthy of Man, as well as odious in itself.

WOMEN are generally much more flatter'd in their Youth than Men; which may proceed from this Reason, among others, that their chief Point of Honour is consider'd as much more difficult than ours, and requires to be supported by all that decent Pride, which can be instill'd into them.

WE find very few Disputes that are not founded on some Ambiguity in the Expression ; and I am persuaded, that the present Dispute concerning the Dignity of Human Nature, is not more exempt from it than any other. It may, therefore, be worth while to consider, what is real, and what is only verbal, in this Controversy.

THAT there is a natural Difference betwixt Merit and Demerit, Virtue and Vice, Wisdom and Folly, no reasonable Man will deny : But yet 'tis evident, that in affixing the Term, which denotes either our Approbation or Blame, we are commonly more influenced by Comparison than by any fixt unalterable Standard in the Nature of Things. In like Manner, Quantity, and Extension, and Bulk, are by every one acknowledg'd to be real Things : But when we call any Animal *great* or *little*, we always form a secret Comparison betwixt that Animal and others of the same Species ; and 'tis that Comparison which regulates our Judgment concerning its Greatness. A Dog and a Horse may be of the very same Size, while the one is admir'd for the Greatness of its Bulk, and the other for the Smallness. When I am present, therefore, at any Dispute, I always consider with myself, whether or not it be a Question merely of Comparison that is the Subject of the Dispute ; and if it be, whether the Disputants compare the same Objects together, or talk of Things that are widely different. As the latter is commonly the Case, I have long since learnt to neglect such Disputes as manifest Abuses of Leisure,

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sure, the most valuable Present that could be made to Mortals.

IN forming our Notions of Human Nature, we are very apt to make a Comparifon betwixt Men and Animals, which are the only Creatures endowed with Thought that fall under our Senses. Certainly this Comparifon is very favourable to Mankind. On the one Hand we fee a Creature, whose Thoughts are not limited by any narrow Bounds, either of Place or Time ; who carries his Researches into the moft diftant Regions of this Globe, and beyond this Globe, to the Planets and Heavenly Bodies ; looks backward to confider the firft Origin of Human Race ; cafts his Eyes forward to fee the Influence of his Actions upon Pofterity, and the Judgments that will be form'd of his Character a thoufand Years hence ; a Creature, that traces Cauſes and Effects to a great Length and Intricacy ; extracts general Principles from particular Appearances ; improves upon his Discoveries ; corrects his Miſtakes ; and makes his very Errors profitable. On the other Hand, we are preſented with a Creature the very reverſe of this ; limited in its Obſervations and Reasonings to a few ſenſible Objects that ſurround it ; without Curioſity, without Foreſight ; blindly conducted by Inſtinct, and arriving in a very ſhort Time at its utmoſt Perfection, beyond which it is never able to advance a ſingle Step. What a wide Difference is there betwixt theſe Creatures ! And how exalted a Notion muſt we entertain of the former, in Compariſon of the latter !

THERE are two Means commonly employ'd to destroy this Conclusion: *First*, By making an unfair Representation of the Case, and insisting only upon the Weaknesses of Human Nature. And *secondly*, By forming a new and secret Comparison betwixt Man and Beings of the most perfect Wisdom. Among the other Excellencies of Man, there is this remarkable, that he can form a Notion of Perfections much beyond what he has Experience of in himself; and is not limited in his Conception of Wisdom and Virtue. He can easily exalt his Notions, and conceive a Degree of Wisdom, which, when compar'd to his own, will make the latter appear very contemptible, and will cause the Difference betwixt that and the Sagacity of Animals, in a Manner, to disappear and vanish. Now this being a Point, in which all the World is agreed, that Human Understanding falls infinitely short of perfect Wisdom: 'Tis proper we should know when this Comparison takes Place, that we may not dispute, where there is no real Difference in our Sentiments. Man falls much shorter of perfect Wisdom, and even of his own Ideas of perfect Wisdom, than Animals do of Man; but yet the latter Difference is so considerable, that nothing but a Comparison with the former, can make it appear of little Moment.

'Tis also very usual to *compare* one Man with another; and finding very few that we can call *wise* or *virtuous*, we are apt to entertain a contemptible Notion of our Species in general. That we may be sen-

fible of the Fallacy of this Way of Reasoning, we may observe, that the Honourable Appellations of Wise and Virtuous, are not annexed to any particular Degree of those Qualities of *Wisdom* and *Virtue*; but arise altogether from the Comparison we make betwixt one Man and another. When we find a Man, who arrives at such a Pitch of Wisdom as is very uncommon, we pronounce him a wise Man: So that to say, there are few wise Men in the World, is really to say nothing; since 'tis only by their Scarcity, that they merit that Appellation. Were the lowest of our Species as wise as *Tully*, or my Lord *Bacon*, we should still have Reason to say, that there are few wise Men. For in that Case we should exalt our Notions of Wisdom, and would not pay a singular Honour to any one, that was not singularly distinguished by his Talents. In like Manner, I have heard it observ'd by thoughtless People, that there are few Women possess of Beauty, in Comparison of those who want it; not considering, that we bestow the Epithet of *Beautiful* only on such as possess a Degree of Beauty, that is common to them with a few. The same Degree of Beauty in a Woman is call'd Deformity, which is treated as real Beauty in one of our Sex.

As 'tis usual, in forming a Notion of our Species, to compare it with the other Species above or below it, or to compare the Individuals of the Species among themselves; so we often compare together the different Motives or actuating Principles of Human Nature, in order to regulate our Judgment concerning it. And indeed, this is the only Kind of Comparison that

that is worth our Attention, or decides any thing in the present Question. Were the selfish and vicious Principles of Human Nature so much predominant above the social and virtuous, as is asserted by some Philosophers, we ought undoubtedly to entertain a contemptible Notion of Human Nature. I may, perhaps, treat more fully of this Subject in some future Essay. In the mean Time, I shall observe, what has been prov'd beyond Question by several great Moralists of the present Age, that the social Passions are by far the most powerful of any, and that even all the other Passions receive from them their chief Force and Influence. Whoever desires to see this Question treated at large, with the greatest Force of Argument and Eloquence, may consult my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Enquiry concerning Virtue.

IN my Opinion, there are two Things which have led astray those Philosophers, that have insisted so much on the Selfishness of Man. In the *first* Place, they found, that every Act of Virtue or Friendship was attended with a secret Pleasure: From whence they concluded, that Friendship and Virtue could not be disinterested. But the Fallacy of this is obvious. The virtuous Sentiment or Passion produces the Pleasure, and does not arise from it. I feel a Pleasure in doing good to my Friend, because I love him; but do not love him for the Sake of that Pleasure.

IN the *second* Place, it has always been found, that virtuous Men are far from being indifferent to Praise; and therefore they have been represented as a Set of

vain-glorious Men, that had nothing in View but the Applauses of others. But this also is a Fallacy. 'Tis very unjust in the World, when they find any Tincture of Vanity in a laudable Action, to depreciate it upon that Account, or ascribe it entirely to that Motive. The Case is not the same with Vanity, as with other Passions. Where Avarice or Revenge enters into any seemingly virtuous Action, 'tis difficult for us to determine how far it enters, and 'tis natural to suppose it the sole actuating Principle. But Vanity is so nearly ally'd to Virtue, and to love the Fame of virtuous Actions approaches so near the Love of virtuous Actions for their own Sake, that these Passions are more capable of Mixture, than any other Kinds of Affection; and 'tis almost impossible to have the latter without some Degree of the former. Accordingly we find, that this Passion for Glory is always warp'd and varied according to the particular Taste or Sentiment of the Mind on which it falls. *Nero* had the same Vanity in driving a Chariot, that *Trajan* had in governing the Empire with Justice and Ability. To love the Glory of virtuous Actions is a sure Proof of the Love of virtuous Actions.



ESSAY XV.

Of LIBERTY and DESPOTISM.

THOSE who employ their Pens on political Subjects, free from Party-Rage, and Party-Prejudices, cultivate a Science, which, of all others, contributes most both to public Utility, and to the private Satisfaction of those who addict themselves to the Study of it. I am apt, however, to entertain a Suspicion, that the World is still too young to fix many general stable Truths in Politics, which will remain true to the latest Posterity. We have not as yet had Experience of above three thousand Years; so that not only the Art of Reasoning is still defective in this Science, as well as in all others, but we even want sufficient Materials upon which we can reason. 'Tis not fully known, what Degrees of Refinement, either in Virtue or Vice, human Nature is susceptible of; nor what may be expected of Mankind from any great Revolution in their Education, Customs, or Principles. *Machiavel* was certainly a great Genius; but having confin'd his Study to the furious and tyrannical Governments of ancient Times, or the little disorderly Principalities of *Italy*, his Reasonings, especially

upon Monarchical Government, have been found extremely defective ; and there scarce is any Maxim in his *Prince*, which subsequent Experience has not entirely refuted. *A weak Prince*, says he, *is incapable of receiving good Counsel ; for if he consult with several, he will not be able to choose among their different Counsels. If he abandon himself to one, that Minister may, perhaps, have Capacity ; but he will not be long a Minister : He will be sure to dispossess his Master, and place himself and his own Family upon the Throne.* I mention this, among innumerable Instances, of the Errors of that Politician, proceeding, in a great Measure, from his having liv'd in too early an Age of the World, to be a good Judge of political Truth. Almost all the Princes of *Europe* are at present govern'd by their Ministers, and have been so for near two Centuries ; and yet no such Event has ever happen'd, or can possibly happen. *Sejanus* might project the dethroning the *Cæsars* ; but *Fleury*, tho' ever so vicious, could not, while in his Senses, entertain the least Hopes of dispossessing the *Bourbons*.

TRADE was never esteem'd an Affair of State, 'till within the last Century ; nor is there any ancient Writer on Politics, who has made mention of it. Even the *Italians* have kept a profound Silence with regard to it ; though it has now excited the chief Attention, as well of Ministers of State, as of speculative Reasoners. The great Opulence, Grandeur, and military Atchievements of the two Maritime Powers, seem first to have instructed Mankind in the vast Importance of an extensive Commerce.

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HAVING, therefore, intended in this Essay to have made a full Comparison of Liberty and Despotism, and to have shewn the Advantages and Disadvantages of each, I began to entertain a Suspicion, that no Man in this Age was sufficiently qualified for such an Undertaking; and that whatever any one should advance on that Head would, in all Probability, be refuted by further Experience, and be rejected by Posterity. Such mighty Revolutions have happened in human Affairs, and so many Events have arisen, contrary to the Expectation of the Ancients, that they are sufficient to beget the Suspicion of still further Changes.

It had been observed by the Ancients, that all the Arts and Sciences arose among free Nations; and, that the *Persians* and *Egyptians*, notwithstanding all their Ease, Opulence and Luxury, made but faint Efforts towards a Relish in those finer Pleasures, which were carried to such Perfection by the *Greeks*, amidst continual Wars, attended with Poverty, and the greatest Simplicity of Life and Manners. It had also been observ'd, that as soon as the *Greeks* lost their Liberty, tho' they encreased mightily in Riches, by Means of the Conquests of *Alexander*; yet the Arts, from that Moment, declin'd among them, and have never since been able to raise their Head in that Climate. Learning was transplanted to *Rome*, the only free Nation at that Time in the Universe; and having met with so favourable a Soil, it made prodigious Shoots for above a Century; till the Decay of Liberty

produced also the Decay of Letters, and spread a total Barbarity over the World. From these two Experiments, of which each was double in its Kind, and shew'd the Fall of Learning in Despotic Governments, as well as its Rise in popular Ones, *Longinus* thought himself sufficiently justified, in asserting, that the Arts and Sciences could never flourish, but in a free Government: And in this Opinion, he has been follow'd by several eminent Writers * in our own Country, who either confin'd their View merely to ancient Facts, or entertain'd too great a Partiality in Favour of that Form of Government, which is establish'd amongst us.

BUT what would these Writers have said, to the Instances of modern *Rome* and of *Florence*? Of which the former carried to Perfection all the finer Arts of Sculpture, Painting and Music, as well as Poetry, tho' they groan'd under Slavery, and under the Slavery of Priests: While the latter made the greatest Progress in the Arts and Sciences, after they began to lose their Liberty by the Usurpations of the Family of the *Medicis*. *Ariosto*, *Tasso*, *Galileo*, no more than *Raphael*, and *Michael Angelo*, were not born in Republics. And tho' the *Lombard School* was famous as well as the *Roman*, yet the *Venetians* have had the smallest Share in its Honours, and seem rather inferior to the other *Italians*, in their Genius for the Arts and Sciences. *Rubens* establish'd his School at *Antwerp*, not at *Amsterdam*; *Dresden*, not *Hamburg*, is the Centre of Politeness in *Germany*.

BUT the most eminent Instance of the flourishing of Learning in despotic Governments, is that of

* Mr. *Addison* and Lord *Stafordbury*.

FRANCE, which never enjoy'd any Shadow of Liberty, and yet has carried the Arts and Sciences nearer Perfection than any other Nation of the Universe. The *English* are, perhaps, better Philosophers; the *Italians* better Painters and Musicians; the *Romans* were better Orators: But the *French* are the only People, except the *Greeks*, who have been at once Philosophers, Poets, Orators, Historians, Painters, Architects, Sculptors, and Musicians. With regard to the Stage, they have far excell'd the *Greeks*: And, in common Life, have, in a great Measure, perfected that Art, the most useful and agreeable of any, *l'Art de Vivre*, the Art of Society and Conversation.

If we consider the State of the Sciences and polite Arts in our own Country, *Horace's* Observation, with regard to the *Romans*, may, in a great Measure, be applied to the *British*,

----- *Sed in longum tamen ævum*
Manferunt, hodieque manent vestigia ruris.

THE Elegance and Propriety of Stile have been very much neglected among us. We have no Dictionary of our Language, and scarce a tolerable Grammar. The first polite Prose we have, was wrote by *Dr. Swift*. As to *Sprat*, *Locke*, and even *Temple*, they knew too little of the Rules of Art to be esteem'd very elegant Writers. The Prose of *Bacon*, *Harrington* and *Milton*, is altogether stiff and pedantic; tho' their Sense be excellent. Men, in this Country, have been so much occupied in the Grand Disputes of *Religion*, *Politics* and *Philosophy*, that they had no Re-

lish for the minute Observations of Grammar and Criticism. And tho' this Turn of Thinking must have considerably improv'd our Sense and our Talent of Reasoning beyond those of other Nations ; it must be confest, that even in those Sciences abovementioned, we have not any Standard-Book, which we can transmit to Posterity : And the utmost we have to boast of, are a few Essays towards a more just Philosophy ; which, indeed, promise very much, but have not, as yet, reach'd any Degree of Perfection.

IT has become an establish'd Opinion, that Commerce can never flourish but in a free Government ; and this Opinion seems to have been founded on a longer and larger Experience than the foregoing, with Regard to the Arts and Sciences. If we trace Commerce in its Progress thro' *Tyre, Athens, Syracuse, Carthage, Venice, Florence, Genoa, Antwerp, Holland, England, &c.* we shall always find it to have fixt its Seat in free Governments. The three greatest trading Towns now in the World, are *London, Amsterdam, and Hamburgh* ; all free Cities, and Protestant Cities, that is, enjoying a double Liberty. It must, however, be observ'd, that the great Jealousy entertain'd of late, with regard to the Commerce of *France*, seems to prove, that this Maxim is no more certain and infallible, than the foregoing, and that the Subjects of absolute Princes may become our Rivals in Commerce, as well as in Learning.

DURST I deliver my Opinion in an Affair of so much Uncertainty, I would assert, that, notwithstanding
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the Efforts of the *French*, there is something pernicious to Commerce inherent in the very Nature of absolute Government, and inseparable from it: Tho' the Reason I would assign for this Opinion, is somewhat different from that which is commonly insisted on. Private Property seems to me fully as secure in a civiliz'd *European* Monarchy, as in a Republic; nor is any Danger ever apprehended, in such a Government, from the Violence of the Sovereign; no more than we commonly apprehend Danger from Thunder, or Earthquakes, or any Accident the most unusual and extraordinary. Avarice, the Spur of Industry, is so obstinate a Passion, and works its Way thro' so many real Dangers and Difficulties, that 'tis not likely it will be scarr'd by an imaginary Danger, which is so small, that it scarce admits of Calculation. Commerce therefore, in my Opinion, is apt to decay in absolute Governments, not because it is there less *secure*, but because it is less *honourable*. A Subordination of Ranks is absolutely necessary to the Support of Monarchy. Birth, Titles, and Place, must be honour'd above Industry and Riches. And while these Notions prevail, all the considerable Traders will be tempted to throw up their Commerce, in order to purchase some of those Employments, to which Privileges and Honours are annex'd.

SINCE I am upon this Head of the Alterations that Time has produc'd, or may produce in Politics, I must observe, that all Kinds of Government, free and despotic, seem to have undergone, in modern Times, a great Change to the better, with regard
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both to foreign and domestic Management. The *Balance of Power* is a Secret in Politics fully known only to the present Age ; and I must add, that the internal POLICE of the State has also receiv'd great Improvements within the last Century. We are inform'd by *Sallust*, that *Catiline's* Army was much augmented by the Accession of the Highwaymen about *Rome* ; tho' I believe, that all of that Profession, who are at present dispers'd over *Europe*, would not amount to a Regiment. In *Cicero's* Pleadings for *Milo*, I find this Argument, among others, made Use of to prove, that his Client had not assassinated *Clodius*. Had *Milo*, says he, intended to have kill'd *Clodius*, he had not attack'd him in the Day-time, and at such a Distance from the City : He had Way-laid him at Night, near the Suburbs, where it might have been pretended, that he was killed by Robbers ; and the Frequency of the Accident would have favour'd the Deceit. This is a surprizing Proof of the loose Police of *Rome*, and of the Number and Force of these Robbers ; since *Clodius* † was at that Time attended with thirty Slaves, who were compleatly arm'd, and sufficiently accustomed to Blood and Danger in the frequent Tumults excited by that seditious Tribune.

BUT tho' all Kinds of Government be much improv'd in modern Times, yet Monarchical Government seems to have receiv'd the most considerable Improvements. It may now be affirm'd of civiliz'd Mo-

† *Vide Asc. Ped. in Orat. pro Milone.*

narchies, what was formerly said in Praise of Republics alone, *that they are a Government of Laws, not of Men.* They are found susceptible of Order, Method, and Constancy, to a surprizing Degree. Property is there secure; Industry encourag'd; the Arts flourish; and the Prince lives secure among his Subjects, like a Father among his Children. It must, however, be confess'd, that tho' Monarchical Governments have approach'd nearer to popular Ones, in Gentleness and Stability; yet they are still much inferior. Our modern Education and Customs instil more Humanity and Moderation than the ancient; but have not as yet been able to overcome entirely the Disadvantages of that Form of Government.

BUT here I must beg Leave to advance a Conjecture, which seems to me very probable, but which Posterity alone can fully judge of. I am apt to think, that in Monarchical Governments there is a Source of Improvement, and in Popular Governments a Source of Degeneracy, which in Time will bring these Species of Government still nearer an Equality. The greatest Abuses, which arise in *France*, the most perfect Model of pure Monarchy, proceed not from the Number or Weight of the Taxes, beyond what are to be met with in free Countries; but from the expensive, unequal, arbitrary, and intricate Method of levying them, by which the Industry of the Poor, especially of the Peasants and Farmers, is, in a great Measure, discourag'd, and Agriculture render'd a beggarly and a slavish Employment. But to whose Advantage do these Abuses serve? If to that of the Nobility, they
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might be esteem'd inherent in that Form of Govern-
ment; since the Nobility are the true Supports of Mo-
narchy; and 'tis natural their Interest should be more
consulted, in such a Constitution, than that of the
People. But the Nobility are, in Reality, the prin-
cipal Losers by this Oppression; since it ruins their
Estates, and beggars their Tenants. The only Gain-
ers by it are the *Financiers*, a Race of Men despised
and hated by the Nobility and the whole Kingdom.
If a Prince or a Minister, therefore, should arise, en-
dow'd with sufficient Discernment to know his own
and the public Interest, and with sufficient Force of
Mind to break thro' ancient Custom, we might expect
to see these Abuses remedied; in which Case, the Dif-
ference betwixt their absolute Government and our free
one, would be more nominal than real.

THE Source of Degeneracy, that may be remark'd
in free Governments, consists in the Practice of con-
tracting Debt, and mortgaging the public Revenues,
by which Taxes may, in Time, become altogether
intolerable, and all the Property of the State be brought
into the Hands of the Public. This Practice is of mo-
dern Date. The *Athenians*, tho' govern'd by a Re-
public, paid near two hundred *per Cent.* for those Sums
of Money, which any emergent Occasion made it ne-
cessary for them to borrow; as we learn from *Xeno-
phon* *. Among the Moderns, the *Dutch* first introduced
the

* Κτήσιν δὲ ἀπ' ἑδενός ἂν ἔτω καλὴν κτήσαιντο ὥσπερ
ἀφ' οὗ ἂν προτελέσωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀφορμὴν. ----- οἱ δὲ γε
πλείους

the Practice of borrowing great Sums at low Interest, and have well nigh ruined themselves by it. Absolute Princes have also contracted Debt ; but as an absolute Prince may play the Bankrupt when he pleases, his People can never be oppress'd by his Debts. In popular Governments, the People, and chiefly those who have the highest Offices, being always the public Creditors, 'tis impossible the State can ever make Use of this Remedy, which, however it may be sometimes necessary, is always cruel and barbarous. This, therefore, seems to be an Inconvenience, that nearly threatens all free Governments ; especially our own, at the present Juncture of Affairs. And what a strong Motive is this, to increase our Frugality of the public Money ; lest, for want of it, we be reduced by the Multiplicity of Taxes, to curse our free Government, and wish ourselves in the same State of Servitude with all the Nations that surround us.

πλείστοι Αθηναίων πλείονα λήφονται κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ ὅσα αἱ εἰσενέγκωσι, οἱ γὰρ μὲν προτελέσαντες, ἐγγυὺς δυοῖν μναῖν πρόσσδον ἔχουσι ---- ὁδύκει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλίστατον τε καὶ πολυχροιώτατον εἶναι. ΞΕΝ. ΠΟΡΟΙ.



ESSAY XVI.

Of ELOQUENCE.

THOSE, who consider the Periods and Revolutions of human Kind, as represented in History, are entertain'd with a Spectacle full of Pleasure and Variety, and see, with Surprize, the Manners, Customs, and Opinions of the same Species susceptible of such prodigious Changes in different Periods of Time. It may, however, be observ'd, that in *civil* History there is found a much greater Uniformity than in the History of Learning and Science, and that the Wars, Negotiations and Politics of one Age resemble more those of another, than the Taste, Wit, and speculative Principles. Interest and Ambition, Honour and Shame, Friendship and Enmity, Gratitude and Revenge, are the prime Movers in all public Transactions ; and these Passions are of a very stubborn and intractable Nature, in Comparison of the Sentiments and Understanding, which are easily varied by Education and Example. The *Goths* were much more inferior to the *Romans*, in Taste and Science, than in Courage and Virtue.

BUT

BUT not to compare together Nations so widely different, that they may almost be esteem'd of a different Species ; it may be observ'd, that even this latter Period of human Learning, is, in many Respects, considerably different from the ancient ; and that if we be superior in Philosophy, we are still, notwithstanding all our Refinements, much inferior in Eloquence.

IN ancient Times no Performance was thought to require so great a Genius and Capacity, as that of speaking in Public ; and some eminent Writers have pronounc'd the Talents, even of a great Poet or Philosopher, to be of an inferior Nature to those requisite for such an Undertaking. *Greece* and *Rome* produc'd, each of them, but one accomplish'd Orator ; and whatever Praises the other celebrated Speakers might merit, they were still esteem'd much inferior to those two great Heroes of Eloquence. 'Tis observable, that the ancient Critics could scarce find two Orators, in any Age, that deserv'd to be plac'd precisely in the same Rank, and possess'd the same Degree of Merit. *Calvus*, *Cælius*, *Curio*, *Hortensius*, *Cæsar* rose one above another : But the greatest of that Age was inferior to *Cicero*, the most eloquent Speaker that had ever appear'd in *Rome*. Those of fine Taste, however, pronounc'd this Judgment of the *Roman* Orator, as well as of the *Grecian*, that both of them surpass'd in Eloquence all that had ever appear'd, but that they were far from reaching the Perfection of their Art, which was infinite, and not only exceeded human
Force

Force to attain, but also human Imagination to conceive. *Cicero* declares himself dissatisfy'd with his own Performances; nay, even with those of *Demosthenes*. *Ita sunt avidæ & capaces meæ aures*, says he, *& semper aliquid immensum, infinitumque desiderant.*

THESE Circumstances alone are sufficient to make us apprehend the wide Difference betwixt ancient and modern Eloquence, and let us see how much the latter is inferior to the former. Of all the polite and learned Nations, *Britain* alone possesses a popular Government, or admits into the Legislature such numerous Assemblies as can be suppos'd to lie under the Dominion of Eloquence. But what has *Britain* to boast of in this Particular? In enumerating all the great Men, that have done Honour to our Country, we exult in our Poets and Philosophers: But what Orators are ever mention'd? Or where are the Monuments of their Genius to be met with? There are found, indeed, in our Histories, the Names of several, who directed the Resolutions of our Parliament: But neither themselves nor others have taken the Pains to preserve their Speeches; and the Authority they possess'd seems to have been owing to their Experience, Wisdom, or Power, more than to their Talents for Oratory. At present, there are above half a dozen Speakers in the two Houses, who, in the Judgment of the Public, have reach'd very near the same Pitch of Eloquence; and no Man pretends to give any one the Preference to the rest. This seems to me a certain Proof, that none of them have attain'd much beyond a Mediocrity in their Art, and that the Species of Eloquence they aspire to,

to, gives no Exercise to the sublimer Faculties of the Mind, but may be reach'd by ordinary Talents and a slight Application. A hundred Cabinet-makers in *London* can work a Table or a Chair equally well ; but no one Poet can write Verses with such Spirit and Elegance as *Mr. Pope*.

WE are told, that when *Demosthenes* was to plead, all the ingenious Men flock'd to *Athens* from the most remote Parts of *Greece*, as to the most celebrated Spectacle of the World †. At *London*, you may see Men sauntering in the Court of Requests, while the most important Debate is carrying on in the two Houses ; and many do not think themselves sufficiently compensated, for the losing of their Dinners, by all the Eloquence of our most celebrated Speakers. When old *Cibber* is to act, the Curiosity of the Public is more excited, than when our prime Minister is to defend himself from a Motion for his Removal or Impeachment.

EVEN a Person unacquainted with the noble Remains of ancient Orators, may judge, from a few Strokes, that the Stile or Species of their Eloquence was infinitely more sublime than that which modern

† Ne illud quidem intelligunt, non modo ita memoriæ proditum esse, sed ita necesse fuisse, cum *Demosthenes* dicturus esset, ut concursus, audiendi causa, ex tota *Græcia* fierent. At cum isti *Attici* dicunt, non modo a corona (quod est ipsum miserabile) sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur.

Cicero de Claris Oratoribus.

Orators aspire to. How absurd would it appear, in our temperate and calm Speakers, to make use of an *Apophrophe*, like that noble one of *Demosthenes*, so much celebrated by *Quintilian* and *Longinus*, when, justifying the unsuccessful Battle of *Charonea*, he breaks out, *No, my Fellow-Citizens, No: You have not err'd. I swear by the Manes of those Heroes, who fought for the same Cause in the Plains of MARATHON and PLATÆA.* Who could now endure such a bold and poetical Figure, as that which *Cicero* employs, after describing in the most tragical Terms the Crucifixion of a Roman Citizen. *Should I paint the Horrors of this Scene, not to Roman Citizens, not to the Allies of our State, not to those who have ever heard of the Roman Name, not even to Men, but to Brute-Creatures; or, to go farther, should I lift up my Voice, in the most desolate Solitude, to the Rocks and Mountains, yet should I surely see those rude and inanimate Parts of Nature mov'd with Horror and Indignation at the Recital of so enormous an Action †.* With what a Blaze of Eloquence must such a Sentence be furrounded to give it Grace, or cause it to make any Impression on the Hearers! And what noble Art and sublime Talents are requisite to arrive, by just Degrees, at a Sentiment so bold and excessive: To inflame

† *The Original is; Quod si hæc non ad cives Romanos, non ad aliquos amicos nostræ civitatis, non ad eos qui populi Romani nomen audissent; denique, si non ad homines, veram ad bestias; aut etiam, ut longius progrediar, si in aliqua desertissima solitudine, ad saxa & ad scopulos hæc conqueri & deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima, tanta & tam indigna rerum atrocitate commoverentur.* Cic. in Ver.

the Audience, so as to make them accompany the Speaker in such violent Passions, and such elevated Conceptions : And to conceal, under a Torrent of Eloquence, the Artifice, by which all this is effectuated !

SUITABLE to this Vehemence of Thought and Expression, was the Vehemence of Action, observed in the ancient Orators. The *supplasio pedis*, or stamping with the Foot, was one of the most usual and moderate Gestures they made use of † ; tho' that is now esteem'd too violent, either for the Senate, Bar, or Pulpit, and is only admitted into the Theatre, to accompany the most violent Passions, that are there represented.

I AM somewhat at a Loss to what Cause we may ascribe so sensible a Decline of Eloquence in latter Ages. The Genius of Mankind, at all Times, is, perhaps, equal : The Moderns have applied themselves, with great Industry and Success, to all the other Arts and Sciences : And one of the most learned Nations of the Universe possesses a popular Government ; which seems requisite for the full Display of these noble Talents : But notwithstanding all these Advantages, our Progress in Eloquence is very incon-

† Ubi dolor ? Ubi ardor animi, qui etiam ex infantium ingeniiis elicere voces & querelas solet ? nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis ; frons non percussa, non femur ; pedis (*quod minimum est*) nulla supplasio. Itaque tantum absuit ut inflammare nostros animos ; somnum isto loco vix tenebamus.

Cicero de Claris Oratoribus.

fiderable,

considerable, in Comparison of the Advances we have made in all the other Parts of Learning.

SHALL we assert, that the Strains of ancient Eloquence are unsuitable to our Age, and not to be imitated by modern Orators? Whatever Reasons may be made Use of to prove this, I am persuaded they will be found, upon Examination, to be unfound and unsatisfactory.

First, IT may be said, that in ancient Times, during the flourishing Period of the *Greek* and *Roman* Learning, the municipal Laws, in every State, were but few and simple, and the Decision of Causes was, in a great Measure, left to the Equity and common Sense of the Judges. The Study of the Laws was not then a laborious Occupation, which requir'd the Drudgery of a whole Life to finish it, and was utterly incompatible with every other Study or Profession. The great Statesmen and Generals among the *Romans* were all Lawyers; and *Cicero*, to shew the Facility of this Science, declares, that, in the midst of all his Occupations, he would undertake, in a few Days, to make himself a compleat Civilian. Now, where a Pleader addresses himself to the Equity of his Judges, he has much more Room to display his Eloquence, than where he must draw his Arguments from strict Laws, Statutes and Precedents. In the former Case, many Circumstances must be taken in, many personal Considerations regarded; and even Favour and Inclination, which it belongs to the Orator, by his Art and Eloquence, to conciliate, may be disguis'd under the
Appear-

Appearance of Equity. But, how shall a modern Lawyer have Leisure to quit his laborious Occupation, in order to gather the Flowers of *Parnassus*? Or, what Opportunity shall he have of displaying them, amidst the rigid and subtle Arguments, Objections and Replies, which he is obliged to make Use of? The greatest Genius, and greatest Orator, who should pretend to plead before the *Chancellor*, after a Month's Study of the Laws, would only labour to make himself ridiculous.

I AM ready to own, that this Circumstance, of the Multiplicity and Intricacy of Laws, is a Discouragement to Eloquence in modern Times: But I assert, that it will not account intirely for the Decline of that noble Art. It may banish Oratory from *Westminster-Hall*, but not from either of the Houses of Parliament. Among the *Athenians*, the *Areopagites* expressly forbid all Allurements of Eloquence; nor do we find, in the *Greek* Orations wrote in the *judiciary* Form, such a bold and rhetorical Stile as appears in the *Roman*. But to what a Pitch did the *Athenians* carry their Eloquence in the *deliberative* Kind, when Affairs of State were canvast, and the Liberty, Happiness, and Honour of the Nation were the Subjects of Debate? Disputes of this Nature elevate the Genius above all others, and give the fullest Scope to Eloquence; and such Disputes are very frequent in this Nation.

Secondly, It may be pretended, that the Decline of Eloquence is owing to the superior good Sense of

the Moderns, who reject, with Disdain, all those rhetorical Tricks, which may be employ'd to seduce the Judges, and will admit of nothing but solid Argument in any Debate or Deliberation. If a Man be accus'd of Murder, the Fact must be prov'd by Witnesses and Evidence; and the Laws will afterwards determine the Punishment of the Criminal. It would be ridiculous to describe, in strong Colours, the Horror and Cruelty of the Action: To introduce the Relations of the Dead; and, at a Signal, make them throw themselves at the Feet of the Judges, imploring Justice with Tears and Lamentations: And still more ridiculous would it be, to employ a Painter to draw a Picture representing the bloody Deed, in order to move the Judges by the Display of so tragical a Spectacle: 'Tho' we know, that this poor Artifice was sometimes practis'd by the Pleaders of Old. Now, banish the Pathetic from public Discourses, and you reduce the Speakers merely to modern Eloquence; that is, to Good-Sense, deliver'd in proper Expressions.

PERHAPS it may be acknowledg'd, that our modern Customs, or our superior Good-Sense, if you will, should make our Orators more cautious and reserv'd than the ancient, in attempting to inflame the Passions, or elevate the Imagination of their Audience: But, I see no Reason, why it should make them despair absolutely of succeeding in that Attempt. It should make them redouble their Art, not abandon it intirely. The ancient Orators seem also to have been on their Guard against this Jealousy of their Audience;

dience ; but they took a different Way of eluding it †. They hurry'd away with such a Torrent of Sublime and Pathetic, that they left their Hearers no Leisure to perceive the Artifice, by which they were deceiv'd. Nay, to consider the Matter aright, they were not deceiv'd by any Artifice. The Orator, by the Force of his own Genius and Eloquence, first inflam'd himself with Anger, Indignation, Pity, Sorrow ; and then communicated those impetuous Movements to his Audience.

Does any Man pretend to have more good Sense than *Julius Cæsar* ? Yet that haughty Conqueror, we know, was so subdu'd by the Charms of *Cicero's* Eloquence, that he was, in a Manner, constrain'd to change his settled Purpose and Resolution, and to absolve a Criminal, whom, before that Orator appear'd, he was determin'd to condemn.

Thirdly, It may be pretended, that the Disorders of the ancient Governments, and the enormous Crimes, of which the Citizens were often guilty, afforded much ampler Matter for Eloquence than can be met with among the Moderns. Were there no *Verres* or *Catiline*, there would be no *Cicero*. But that this Reason can have no great Influence, is evident : 'Twould be easy to find a *Philip* in modern Times ; but where shall we find a *Demosthenes* ?

WHAT remains, then, but that we lay the Blame on the Want of Genius, or of Judgment in our Speak-

† *Longinus*, Cap. 15.

ers, who either found themselves incapable of reaching the Heights of ancient Eloquence, or rejected all such Endeavours, as unsuitable to the Spirit of modern Assemblies? A few successful Attempts of this Nature might rouse up the Genius of the Nation, excite the Emulation of the Youth, and accustom our Ears to a more sublime and more pathetic Elocution, than what we have been hitherto entertain'd with. There is certainly something accidental in the first Rise and the Progress of the Arts in any Nation. I doubt if a very satisfactory Reason can be given, why ancient *Rome*, while it receiv'd all its Arts from *Greece*, could attain only to a Taste or Relish of Statuary, Painting and Architecture, without reaching the Practice of these noble Arts: While modern *Rome* has been excited, by a few Remains found among the Ruins of Antiquity, and has carried these Arts to the greatest Perfection. Had such a cultivated Genius as my Lord *Bolingbroke* arisen during the Civil Wars, when Liberty began to be fully establish'd, and popular Assemblies to enter into all the most material Points of Government, I am persuaded so illustrious an Example would have given a quite different Turn to *British* Eloquence, and made us reach the Perfection of the ancient Model. Our Orators would then have done Honour to their Country, as well as our Poets and Philosophers, and *British* *Ciceros* have appear'd as well as *British* *Platos* and *Virgils*.

I HAVE confess'd that there is something accidental in the Origin and Progress of the Arts in any Nation; and yet I cannot forbear thinking, that if the
other

other learned and polite Nations of *Europe* had possess the same Advantages of a popular Government, they would probably have carried Eloquence to a greater Height than it has yet reach'd in *Britain*. The *French* Sermons, especially those of *Flecbier* and *Bourdauie*, are much superior to the *English* in this Particular ; and in *Flecbier* there are many Strokes of the most sublime Poetry. His Funeral Sermon on the *Marechal de Turenne* is a good Instance. None but private Causes, in that Country, are ever debated before their Parliament or Courts of Judicature ; but notwithstanding this Disadvantage, there appears a Spirit of Eloquence in many of their Lawyers, which, with proper Cultivation and Encouragement, might rise to the greatest Heights. The Pleadings of *Patru* are very elegant, and give us room to imagine what so fine a Genius could have perform'd in Questions concerning public Liberty or Slavery, Peace or War, who exerts himself with such Success, in Debates concerning the Price of an old Horse, or a gossiping Story of a Quarrel betwixt an Abbess and her Nuns. For, 'tis remarkable, that this polite Writer, tho' esteem'd by all the Men of Wit in his Time, was never employ'd in the most considerable Causes of their Courts of Judicature, but liv'd and dy'd in Poverty : From an ancient Prejudice industriously propagated by the Dunces in all Countries, *That a Man of Genius is unfit for Business*. The Disorders produced by the Ministry of *Cardinal Mazarine*, made the Parliament of *Paris* enter into the Discussion of public Affairs ; and during that short Interval, there appear'd many Symptoms of the Revival of ancient Eloquence. The *Avocat-General*,

Talon, in an Oration, invok'd on his Knees the Spirit of St. *Louis* to look down with Compassion on his divided and unhappy People, and to inspire them, from above, with the Love of Concord and Unanimity †. The Members of the *French Academy* have attempted to give us Models of Eloquence in their Harangues at their Admittance : But, having no Subject to discourse upon, they have run altogether into a fulsome Strain of Panegyric and Flattery, the most barren of all Subjects. Their Stile, however, is commonly, on these Occasions, very elevated and sublime, and might reach the greatest Heights, were it employ'd on a Subject more favourable and engaging.

THERE are some Circumstances in the *English* Temper and Genius, which are disadvantageous to the Progress of Eloquence, and render all Attempts of that Kind more dangerous and difficult among them than among any other Nation in the Universe. The *English* are conspicuous for *Good-sense*, which makes them very jealous of any Attempts to deceive them by the Flowers of Rhetoric and Elocution. They are also peculiarly *modest* ; which makes them consider it as a Piece of Arrogance to offer any thing but Reason to public Assemblies, or attempt to guide them by Passion or Fancy. I may, perhaps, be allow'd to add, that the People in general are not remarkable for Delicacy of Taste, or for Sensibility to the Charms of the Muses. Their *musical Parts*, to use the Expression of a noble Author, are but indifferent. Hence

† *De Ret's* Memoirs.

their Comic Poets, to move them, must have Recourse to Obscenity ; their Tragic Poets to Blood and Slaughter : And hence their Orators, being depriv'd of any such Ressource, have abandoned altogether the Hopes of moving them, and have confin'd themselves to plain Argument and Reasoning.

THESE Circumstances, join'd to particular Accidents, may, perhaps, have retarded the Growth of Eloquence in this Kingdom ; but will not be able to prevent its Success, if ever it appear amongst us: And one may safely pronounce, that this is a Field in which the most flourishing Lawrels may yet begather'd, if any Youth of accomplish'd Genius, thoroughly acquainted with all the polite Arts, and not ignorant of public Business, should appear in Parliament, and accustom our Ears to an Eloquence more commanding and pathetic. And to confirm me in this Opinion, there occur two Considerations, the one deriv'd from ancient, the other from modern Times.

'Tis seldom or never found, when a false Taste in Poetry or Eloquence prevails among any People, that it has been preferr'd to a true, upon Comparison and Reflection. It commonly prevails merely from Ignorance of the true, and from the want of perfect Models, to lead Men into a juster Apprehension, and more refin'd Relish of those Productions of Genius. When *these* appear, they soon unite all Suffrages in their Favour, and, by their natural and powerful Charms, gain over, even the most prejudic'd, to the Love and Admiration of them. The Principles of

every Passion, and of every Sentiment, is in every Man ; and when you touch them properly, they rise to Life, and warm the Heart, and convey that Satisfaction by which a Work of Genius is distinguish'd from the adulterate Beauties of a capricious Wit and Fancy. And if this Observation be true, with regard to all the liberal Arts, it must be peculiarly so, with regard to Eloquence ; which, being merely calculated for the Public, and for Men of the World, cannot, with any Pretext of Reason, appeal from the People to more refin'd Judges ; but must submit to the public Verdict, without Reserve or Limitation. Whoever, upon Comparison, is deem'd by the People the greatest Orator, ought most certainly to be pronounc'd such, by Men of Science and Erudition. And tho' an indifferent Orator may triumph for a long Time, and be esteem'd altogether perfect by the Vulgar, who are satisfy'd with his Accomplishments, and know not in what he is defective : Yet, whenever the true Genius appears, *he* draws to him the Attention of every one, and immediately appears superior to his Rival.

Now, to judge, by this Rule, ancient Eloquence, that is, the sublime and passionate, is of a much juster Taste than the modern, or the argumentative and rational ; and, if properly executed, will always have more Command and Authority over Mankind. We are satisfy'd with our Mediocrity, because we have had no Experience of any thing better : But the Ancients had Experience of both, and, upon Comparison, gave the Preference to that Kind, of which they have left us such applauded Models. For, if I am not mistaken,

spoken, our modern Eloquence is of the same Stile or Species with that which ancient Critics denominated *Attic* Eloquence, that is, calm, elegant, and subtile, which instructed the Reason more than affected the Passions, and never rais'd its Tone above Argument or common Discourse. Such was the Eloquence of *Isfias* among the *Athenians*, and of *Calvus* among the *Romans*. These were esteem'd in their Time; but when compar'd with *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, were eclips'd like a Taper when set in the Rays of a meridian Sun. Those latter Orators possess'd the same Elegance, and Subtility, and Force of Argument, with the former; but what render'd them chiefly admirable, was that Pathetic and Sublime, which, on proper Occasions, they threw into their Discourse, and by which they commanded the Resolutions of their Audience.

OF this Species of Eloquence we have scarce had any Instances in *Britain*, at least in our public Speakers. In our Writers, we have had some Instances, which have met with great Applause, and might assure our ambitious Youth of equal or superior Glory in Attempts for the Revival of ancient Eloquence. My Lord *Bolingbroke's* Productions contain a Force and Energy and Sublime, which our Orators scarce ever aim at; tho' 'tis evident, that such an elevated Stile has much better Grace in a Speaker than in a Writer, and is assur'd of a more prompt and more astonishing Success. 'Tis there seconded by the Graces of Voice and Action: The Movements are mutually communicated by Sympathy, betwixt the Orator and the Audience: And the very Aspect of a large Assembly, attentive to the

Discourse of one Man, must inspire him with a peculiar Elevation, sufficient to give a Propriety to the strongest Figures and Expressions. 'Tis true, there is a great Prejudice against *Set-Speeches*; and a Man can scarce escape Ridicule, who repeats a Discourse, as a School-boy does his Lesson, and takes no Notice of any thing that has been advanc'd in the Course of the Debate. But where is the Necessity of falling into this Absurdity? A public Speaker must know beforehand the Question under Debate. He may compose all the Arguments, Objections, and Answers, such as he thinks will be most proper for his Discourse. If any thing new occur, he may supply it from his Invention; nor will the Difference be very apparent betwixt his elaborate and his extemporary Compositions. The Mind naturally continues with the same *Impetus* or *Force*, which it has acquir'd by its Motion; as a Vessel, once impell'd by the Oars, carries on its Course for some Time, even when the Original Impulse is suspended.

I SHALL conclude this Subject with observing, that even tho' our modern Orators should not elevate their Style, or aspire to a Rivalship with the Ancient; yet there is a material Defect in most of their Speeches, which they might correct, without departing from that compos'd Air of Argument and Reasoning, to which they limit their Ambition. Their great Affectation of extemporary Discourses has made them reject all Order and Method, which seems so requisite to Argument, and without which 'tis scarce possible to produce an intire Conviction in the Mind. 'Tis not,

that

that I would recommend many formal Divisions in a public Discourse, unless the Subject very evidently offer them : But 'tis easy, without this Formality, to observe a Method, and make that Method conspicuous to the Hearers, who will be infinitely pleas'd to see the Arguments rise naturally from one another, and will retain a more thorough Persuasion, that can arise from the strongest Reasons, which are thrown together in Confusion.

ESSAY XVII.

Of the RISE and PROGRESS of the ARTS and SCIENCES.

THERE is not a Matter of greater Nicety, in our Enquiries concerning human Affairs, than to distinguish exactly what is owing to *Chance*, and what proceeds from *Causes*; nor is there any thing, in which an Author is more apt to deceive himself, by false Subtilties and Refinements. To say, that any Event is deriv'd from Chance, cuts short all farther Enquiry concerning it, and leaves the Writer in the same State of Ignorance with all the rest of Mankind. But when the Event is suppos'd to proceed from certain and stable Causes, he may then display his Ingenuity, in assigning these Causes; and as a Man of any Subtility can never be at a Loss in this Particular, he has thereby an Opportunity of swelling his Volumes, and discovering his Profound Knowledge, in observing what escapes the Vulgar and Ignorant.

THE distinguishing betwixt Chance and Causes must depend upon every particular Man's Sagacity, in considering every particular Incident. But, if I were to assign any general Rule to help us in applying this

this Distinction, it would be the following, *What depends upon a few Persons is, in a great Measure, to be ascrib'd to Chance, or secret and unknown Causes: What arises from a great Number, may often be accounted for by determinate and known Causes.*

THERE may two very natural Reasons be assign'd for this Rule. *First*, If you suppose a Dye to have any Byass, however small, to a particular Side, this Byass, though, perhaps, it may not appear in a few Throws, will certainly prevail in a great Number, and will cast the Balance intirely to that Side. In like Manner, when any *Causes* beget a particular Inclination or Passion, at a certain Time, and among a certain People; tho' many Individuals may escape the Contagion, and be rul'd by Passions peculiar to themselves; yet the Multitude will certainly be infected with the common Passion, and be govern'd by it in all their Actions.

Secondly, THOSE Principles or Causes, which are fitted to operate on a Multitude, are always of a grosser and more stubborn Nature, less subject to Accidents, and less influenc'd by Whim and private Fancy, than those which operate on a few only. The latter are commonly so delicate and refin'd, that the smallest Incident in the Health, Education, or Fortune of particular Persons, is sufficient to divert their Course, and retard their Operation, nor is it possible to reduce them to any general Maxims or Observations. Their Influence at one Time, will never assure us concerning their Influence at another; even tho' all the general Circumstances should be the same in both Cases.

To

To judge by this Rule, the domestic and the gradual Revolutions of a State, must be a more proper Subject of Reasoning and Observation, than the foreign and the momentary, which are commonly produc'd by single Persons, and are more influenc'd by Whim, Folly, or Caprice, than by general Passions and Interests. The Depression of the Lords, and Rise of the Commons in *England*, after the Statute of Alienations, and the Increase of Trade and Industry, are more easily accounted for by general Principles, than the Depression of the *Spanish*, and Rise of the *French* Monarchy, after the Death of *Charles Quint*. Had *Harry IV*. Cardinal *Richelieu*, and *Loûis XIV*. been *Spaniards*; and *Philip II*, *III*, and *IV*, and *Charles II*, been *Frenchmen*, the History of these two Nations had been intirely revers'd.

FOR the same Reason, 'tis more easy to account for the Rise and Progress of Commerce in any Kingdom, than for that of Learning; and a State, that should apply itself to the Encouragement of the one, would be much more assur'd of Success, than one which should cultivate the other. Avarice, or the Desire of Gain, is an universal Passion, that operates at all Times in all Places, and upon all Persons: But Curiosity, or the Love of Knowledge, has but a very limited Influence, and requires Youth, Leisure, Education, Genius, and Example, to make it govern any Person. You will never want Booksellers, while there are Buyers of Books: But there may frequently be Readers, where there are no Authors. Multitudes of People,
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Necessity and Liberty, have begot Commerce in *Holland*: But Study and Application have not produc'd any eminent Writers.

WE may, therefore, conclude, that there is no Subject, wherein we must proceed with more Caution, than in tracing the History of the Arts and Sciences; lest we assign Causes that never existed, and reduce what is merely contingent to stable and universal Principles. Those, who cultivate the Sciences in any State, are always few in Number: The Passion, that governs them, limited: Their Taste and Judgment tender and easily perverted: And their Application disturb'd with the smallest Accident. Chance, therefore, or secret and unknown Causes, must have a great Influence on the Rise and Progress of all the refin'd Arts.

BUT there is a Reason, which induces me not to ascribe the Matter altogether to Chance. Tho' the Persons, that cultivate the Sciences with such astonishing Success, as to attract the Admiration of Posterity, be always few, in all Nations and all Ages; 'tis impossible but a Share of the same Spirit and Genius must be antecedently diffus'd thro' the People among whom they arise, in order to produce, form, and cultivate, from their earliest Infancy, the Taste and Judgment of those eminent Writers. The Mass cannot be altogether insipid, from which such refin'd Spirits are extracted †. *There is a God within us, says Ovid, who*

† Est Deus in nobis; agitante calescimus illo:

Impetus hic, sacrae femina mentis habet.

Ovid, Fast, Lib. I.

breathes

breathes that Divine Fire, by which we are animated. Poets, in all Ages, have advanc'd this Claim to Inspiration. There is not, however, any thing supernatural in the Case. Their Fire is not kindled from Heaven. It only runs along the Earth; is caught from one Breast to another; and burns brightest, where the Materials are best prepar'd, and most happily dispos'd. The Question, therefore, concerning the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences, is not altogether a Question concerning the Taste, Genius, and Spirit of a few, but concerning those of a whole People; and may, therefore, be accounted for, in some Measure, by general Causes and Principles. I grant, that a Man, who should enquire why such a particular Poet, as *Homer*, for Instance, existed in such a Place, at such a Time, would throw himself Head-long into Chimæra, and could never treat of such a Subject, without a Multitude of false Subtilties and Refinements. He might as well pretend to give a Reason, why such particular Generals, as *Fabius* and *Scipio*, liv'd in *Rome* at such a Time, and why *Fabius* came into the World before *Scipio*. For such Incidents as those, no other Reason can be given but that of *Horace*.

*Scit genius, natale comes, qui temperat astrum,
Naturæ Deus humanæ, mortalis in unum —
— Quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus & ater.*

BUT, I am persuaded, that in many Cases very good Reasons might be given, why such a particular Nation is more polite and learned, at a particular Time,

Time, than any of its Neighbours. At least, this is so curious a Subject, that 'tis a Pity to abandon it intirely, before we have found, whether or not it be susceptible of Reasoning, and can be reduc'd to any general Principles. I shall, therefore, proceed to deliver a few Observations on this Subject, which I submit, with entire Deference, to the Censure and Examination of the Learned.

My first Observation is, *That it is impossible for the Arts and Sciences to arise, at first, among any People, unless that People enjoy the Blessing of a free Government.*

In the first Ages of the World, when Men are, as yet, barbarous and ignorant, they seek for no farther Security against mutual Violence and Injustice, than the Choice of some Rulers, few or many, in whom they place an implicate Confidence, without providing any Security, by Laws or political Institutions, against the Violence and Injustice of these Rulers. If the Authority be center'd in a single Person, and if the People, by Conquest or Generation, increase to a great Multitude, the Monarch, finding it impossible, in his own Person, to execute every Office of Sovereignty, in every Place, must delegate his Authority to inferior Magistrates, who preserve Peace and Order in their particular Districts. As Experience and Education have not yet refin'd the Wits of Men to any considerable Degree, the Prince, who is himself unrestrain'd, never dreams of restraining his Ministers, but delegates his full Authority to every one, whom he sets over any Portion of the People. All general Laws
are

are attended with Inconveniencies, when apply'd to particular Cases; and it requires great Penetration and Experience, both to perceive that these Inconveniencies are fewer than what result from full discretionary Powers in every Magistrate; and also, to discern what general Laws are, upon the Whole, attended with fewest Inconveniencies. This is a Matter of so great Difficulty, that Men may have made some Advances, even in the sublime Arts of Poetry and Eloquence, where a Rapidity of Genius and Imagination assists their Progress, before they have arriv'd at any great Refinements in their Municipal Laws, where frequent Trials, and diligent Observation can alone direct their Improvements. It is not, therefore, to be suppos'd, that a barbarous Monarch, unrestrain'd and uninstructed, will ever become a Legislator, or think of restraining his *Basbas* in every Province, or even his *Cadis* in every Village. We are told, that the late *Czar*, tho' actuated with a noble Genius, and smit with the Love and Admiration of *European* Arts; yet profess'd an Esteem for the *Turkish* Policy in this Particular, and approv'd of the summary Decisions of Causes, which are practis'd in that barbarous Monarchy, where the Judges are not restrain'd by any Methods, Forms, or Laws. He did not perceive, how contrary such a Practice would have been to all his other Endeavours for refining his People. Despotic Power, in all Cases, is somewhat oppressive and debasing; but 'tis altogether ruinous and intolerable, when contracted into a small Compass; and becomes still worse, when the Person, who possesses it, knows that the Time of his Authority is limited and uncertain. *Ha-*

but

bet subjectos tanquam suos; viles, ut alienos *. He governs the Subjects with full Authority, as if they were his own; and with Negligence or Tyranny, as belonging to another. A People govern'd after such a Manner are *Slaves*, in the full and proper Sense of the Word; and 'tis impossible they can ever aspire to any Refinements of Taste or Reason. They dare not so much as pretend to enjoy the Necessaries of Life, in Plenty or Security.

To expect, therefore, that the Arts and Sciences should ever take their *first* Rise in a Monarchy, is to expect a Contradiction. Before these Refinements have been study'd, the Monarch is ignorant and barbarous; and, not having Knowledge sufficient to make him sensible of the Necessity of balancing his Government upon general Laws, he delegates his full Powers to all inferior Magistrates. This barbarous Policy debases the People, and for ever prevents all Improvement. Were it possible, that, before Science was known in the World, a Monarch could possess so much Wisdom as to become a Legislator, and govern his People by Law, not by the arbitrary Will of their Fellow-subjects, it might be possible for that Species of Government to be the first Nursery of Arts and Sciences. But in that Supposition there seems to be a manifest Repugnancy.

'Tis possible, that a Republic, in its Infant-state, may be supported by as few Laws as a barbarous Monarchy, and may entrust as unlimited an Authority to

* Tacit. Hist. Lib. 1.

its Magistrates or Judges. But, besides that the frequent Elections of these Magistrates by the People, are a considerable Check upon their Authority; it is unavoidable, but, in a Tract of Time, the Necessity of restraining the Magistrates, in order to preserve Liberty, must at last appear, and give Rise to general Laws and Statutes. The *Roman* Consuls, for some Time, decided all Causes, without being confin'd by any positive Laws, till the People, bearing this Yoke with Impatience, created the *Decemviri*, who promulgated the *twelve Tables*; a Body of Laws, which, though, perhaps, they were not equal in Bulk to one *English* Act of Parliament, were the only written Rules that regulated Property and Punishment, for some Ages, in that famous Republic. They were, however, sufficient, along with the Forms of a free Government, to secure the Lives and Properties of the Citizens; to exempt one Man from the Dominion of another; and to protect every one from the Violence or Tyranny of his Fellow Citizens. In such a Situation the Sciences may raise their Heads, and flourish: But never can have Being amidst such a Scene of Oppression and Slavery, as always results from barbarous Monarchies, where the People alone are restrain'd by the Authority of the Magistrates, and the Magistrates are not restrain'd by any Law or Statute. An unlimited Despotism of this Nature, while it exists, effectually stops all Improvement, and keeps Men from attaining that Knowledge, which is requisite to instruct them in the Advantages arising from a better Police, and more moderate Authority.

HERE then are the Advantages of Republics. Tho' a Republic shou'd be barbarous, it necessarily, by an infallible Operation, gives Rise to LAW, even before Mankind have made any considerable Advances in the other Sciences. From Law arises Security: From Security Curiosity: And from Curiosity Knowledge. The latter Steps of this Progress may be more accidental; but the former are altogether necessary. A Republic, without Laws, can never have any Duration. On the contrary, in a Monarchical Government, Law arises not necessarily from the Forms of the Government. Monarchy, when absolute, contains even something repugnant to Law. Great Wisdom and Reflection can alone reconcile them. But such a Degree of Wisdom can never be expected, before the greater Refinements and Improvements of human Reason. These Refinements require Curiosity, Security and Law. The *first* Growth, therefore, of the Arts and Sciences can never be expected in despotic Governments.

ACCORDING to the necessary Progress of Things, Law must precede Science. In Republics Law may precede Science, and may arise from the very Nature of the Government. In Monarchies it arises not from the Nature of the Government, and cannot precede Science. An absolute Prince, that is barbarous, renders all his Ministers and Magistrates as absolute as himself: And there needs no more to prevent, for ever, all Industry, Curiosity and Science.

T H E R E

THERE are other Causes, which discourage the Rise of the refin'd Arts in despotic Governments; tho' I take the want of Laws, and the Delegation of full Powers to every petty Magistrate, to be the principal. Eloquence certainly arises more naturally in popular Governments: Emulation too, in every Accomplishment, must be there more animated and enliven'd: And Genius and Capacity have a fuller Scope and Career. All these Causes render free Governments the only proper *Nursery* for the Arts and Sciences.

THE second Observation I shall make on this Head, is, *That nothing is more favourable to the Rise of Politeness and Learning, than a Number of neighbouring independent States connected together by Commerce and Policy.* The Emulation, which naturally rises among those neighbouring States, is an obvious Source of Improvement: But what I wou'd chiefly insist on is the Stop, that such limited Territories give both to *Power* and to *Authority*.

EXTENDED Governments, where a single Person has great Influence, become immediately despotic; but small ones change naturally into Commonwealths. A large Government is accustom'd by Degrees to Tyranny; because each Act of Violence is at first perform'd upon a Part, which, being distant from the Majority, is not taken Notice of, nor excites any violent Ferment. Besides, a large Government, tho' the whole be discontented, may, by a little

the Art, be kept in Obedience; because each Part, being ignorant of the Resolutions of the rest, is afraid to begin any Commotion or Insurrection. Not to mention, that there is a superstitious Reverence for Princes, which Mankind naturally fall into when they do not often see the Prince, and when many of them become not acquainted with him, so as to find him but a Man. And as large States can afford a great Expence, in order to support the Pomp of Majesty, this is a Kind of Fascination on Mankind, and naturally contributes to the enslaving of them.

IN a small Government, any Act of Oppression is immediately known thro' the whole: The Murmurs and Discontents, proceeding from it, are easily communicated: And the Indignation rises the higher, that the Subjects are not apt to apprehend, in such States, that the Distance is very wide betwixt themselves and their Sovereign. "The greatest Enemies to the Glory of Heroes, says a certain Writer, are their *Valet de Chambres*." 'Tis certain, that Admiration and Acquaintance are altogether incompatible with Regard to any mortal Creature. *Antigenus*, being complimented by his Flatterers, as a Deity, and as the Son of that glorious Planet, which illuminates the Universe. Upon that Head, says he, you may consult the Person that empties my close Stool. Sleep and Love convinc'd *Alexander*, that he was not a God: But I suppose those who attended him daily, could have given many other still more convincing Proofs of his Humanity, in the numberless Weaknesses to which he was subject.

BUT

BUT the Divisions into small States are favourable to Learning, by stopping the Progress of *Authority*, as well as that of *Power*. Reputation is often as great a Fascination upon Mankind as Sovereignty, and is equally destructive to the Freedom of Thought and Examination. But where a Number of neighbouring States have a great Intercourse of Arts and Commerce, their mutual Jealousy keeps them from receiving too lightly the Law from each other, in Matters of Taste or of Reasoning, and makes them examine every Work of Art with the greatest Care and Accuracy. The Contagion of popular Opinion spreads not so easily from one Place to another. It readily receives a Check in some State or other, where it concurs not with the prevailing Prejudices. And nothing but Nature or Reason can force its Way thro' all Obstacles, and unite the most rival Nations into an Esteem and Admiration of it.

GREECE was a Cluster of little Principalities, which soon became Republics; and being united both by their near Neighbourhood, and by the Ties of the same Language and Interest, they entered into the closest Intercourse of Commerce and of Learning. There concurred a happy Climate, a fertile Soil, and a most harmonious and comprehensive Language; so that every Circumstance, among that People, seemed to favour the Rise of the Arts and Sciences. Each City produced its several Artists and Philosophers, who refus'd to yield the Preference to those of the neighbouring Republics: Their Debates and Contentions

tions sharpen'd the Wits of Men: A Variety of Objects was presented to the Judgment, while each challeng'd the Preference to the rest: And the Sciences, not being dwarf'd by the Restraint of Authority, were enabled to make such considerable Shoots, as are, even at this Time, the Objects of our Admiration. After the *Roman Christian* or *Catholic* Church had spread itself over the civiliz'd World, and had engross all the Learning of the Times, being really one large State within itself, and united under one Head; this Variety of Sects immediately disappear'd, and the *Peripatetic* Philosophy was alone admitted into all the Schools, to the utter Depravation of every Kind of Learning. But Mankind having, at Length, thrown off this Yoke, Affairs are now returned nearly to the same Situation as before, and *Europe* is at present a Copy at large, of what *Greece* was formerly a Pattern in Miniature. We have seen the Advantage of this Situation in several Instances. What check'd the Progress of the *Cartesian* Philosophy, to which the *French* Nation shew'd such a strong Propensity towards the End of the last Century, but the Opposition made to it by the other Nations of *Europe*, who soon discover'd the weak Sides of that Philosophy? The severest Scrutiny, that *Newton's* Theory has undergone, proceeded not from his Countrymen but Foreigners; and if it can overcome the Obstacles it meets with at present in all Parts of *Europe*, it will probably go down triumphant to the latest Posterity. The *English* are become sensible of the scandalous Licentiousness of their Stage, from the Example of the *French* Decency and Morals. The

French are convinc'd, that their Theatre has become somewhat effeminate, by too much Love and Gallantry, and begin to approve of the more masculine Taste of some of their neighbouring Nations.

In *China* there seems to be a pretty considerable Stock of Politeness and Science, which, in the Course of so many Centuries, might naturally be expected to ripen into something more perfect and finish'd, than what has yet arisen from them. But *China* is one vast Empire, speaking one Language, govern'd by one Law, and sympathizing in the same Manners. The Authority of any Teacher, such as *Confucius*, was propagated easily from one Corner of the Empire to another. None had the Courage to resist the Torrent of popular Opinion. And Posterity were not bold enough to dispute what had been universally receiv'd by their Ancestors. This seems to be one natural Reason, why the Sciences have made so slow a Progress in that mighty Empire*.

IF

* If it be ask'd how we can reconcile to the foregoing Principles the Happiness, Riches, and good Police of the *Chinese* who have always been govern'd by a sole Monarch, and can scarce form an Idea of a free Government; I would answer, that tho' the *Chinese* Government be a pure Monarchy, it is not, properly speaking, absolute. This proceeds from a Peculiarity of the Situation of that Country: They have no Neighbours, except the *Tartars*, from whom they were, in some Measure, secur'd, at least seem'd to be secur'd, by their famous Wall, and by the great Superiority of their Numbers. By this Means, military Discipline has always been much neglected amongst them; and their standing Forces are mere Militia,

cia,

IF we consider the face of the Globe, *Europe*, of all the four Parts of the World, is the most broken by Seas, Rivers, and Mountains; and *Greece* of all Countries of *Europe*. Hence these Regions were naturally divided into several distinct Governments. And hence the Sciences arose in *Greece*; and *Europe* has been hitherto the most constant Habitation of them.

I HAVE sometimes been inclin'd to think, that Interruptions in the Periods of Learning, were they not attended with such a Destruction of ancient Books, and the Records of History, wou'd be rather favourable to the Arts and Sciences, by breaking the Progress of Authority, and dethroning the tyrannical Usurpers over human Reason. In this Particular, they have the same Influence, as Interruptions in political Governments and Societies. Consider the slavish Submission of the ancient Philosophers to the several Masters in each School, and you'll be convinc'd, that

tia, of the worst kind, ; and unfit to suppress any general Insurrection in Countries so extremely populous. The Sword, therefore, may properly be said to be always in the Hands of the People, which is a sufficient Restraint upon the Monarch, and obliges him to lay his *Mandarins* or Governors of Provinces under the Restraint of general Laws, in order to prevent those Rebellions, which we learn from History to have been so frequent and dangerous in that Government. Perhaps, a pure Monarchy of this Kind, were it fitted for Defence against foreign Enemies, would be the best of all Governments, as having both the Tranquillity attending Kingly Power, and the Moderation and Liberty of popular Assemblies.

no good cou'd ever be expected from a hundred Centuries of such a servile Philosophy. Even the *Eclectics*, who arose about the Age of *Augustus*, notwithstanding their professing to chuse freely what pleas'd them from every different Sect, were yet, in the main, as slavish and dependent as any of their brethren; since they fought for Truth, not in Nature, but in the several Schools; where they suppos'd she must necessarily be found, tho' not united in a Body, yet dispers'd in Parts. Upon the Revival of Learning, those Sects of *Stoics* and *Epicureans*, *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans* cou'd never regain any Credit or Authority; and, at the same Time, by the Example of their Fall, kept Men from submitting, with such blind Deference, to those new Sects, which have attempted to gain an Ascendant over them.

THE *third* Observation I shall form on this Head, of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences, is, *That tho' the only proper Nursery of these noble Plants be a free Government, yet they may be transplanted into any Government; and that a Republic is most favourable to the Growth of the Sciences, and a civiliz'd Monarchy to that of the polite Arts.*

To balance a large State or Society, whether Monarchical or Republican, on general Laws, is a Work of so great Difficulty, that no human Genius, however comprehensive, is able, by the mere dint of Reason and Reflection, to effectuate it. The Judgments of many must unite in this Work: Experience must guide their Labour: Time must bring it to Perfection:

on: And the feeling of Inconveniencies must correct the Mistakes, which they inevitably fall into, in their frequent Trials and Experiments. Hence the Impossibility appears, that this Undertaking should be begun and carried on in any Monarchy; since such a Form of Government, before it be civiliz'd, knows no other Secret in Policy, than that of entrusting unlimited Powers with every Governor or Magistrate, and subdividing the People into so many Classes and Orders of Slavery. From such a Situation, no Improvements can ever be expected in the Sciences, in the liberal Arts, in Laws, and scarce in the manual Arts or Manufactures. The same Barbarity and Ignorance, with which the Government commences, is propagated to all Posterity, and can never come to a Period by the Efforts or Ingenuity of such unhappy Slaves.

BUT tho' LAW, the Source of all Security and Happiness, arises late in any Government, and is the slow Product of Order and of Liberty, it is not preserv'd with the same Difficulty, that it is produc'd; but when it has once taken Root, is a hardy Plant, which will scarce ever perish thro' the ill Culture of Men, or the Rigour of the Seasons. The Arts of Luxury, and much more the liberal Arts, which depend on a refin'd Taste or Sentiment, are easily lost; because they are always relish'd by a few only, whose Leisure, Fortune and Genius fit them for such Amusements. But what is profitable to every Mortal, and in common Life, when once it is discover'd, can scarce ever perish, but by the total Subversion of

Society, and by such furious Inundations of barbarous Invaders, as obliterate all Memory of former Arts and Civility. Imitation also is apt to transport these coarser and more useful Arts from one Climate to another, and make them precede the refin'd Arts in their Progress; tho' perhaps they sprung after them in their first Rise and Propagation. From these Causes proceed civiliz'd Monarchies, where the Arts of Government, first invented in free States, are preserv'd, to the mutual Advantage and Security of Sovereign and Subject.

HOWEVER perfect, therefore, the Monarchical Form may appear to some Politicians, it owes all its Perfection to the Republican; nor is it possible, that a pure Despotism, establish'd among a barbarous People, can ever, by its native Force and Energy, refine and polish itself. It must borrow its Laws, and Methods, and Institutions, and consequently its Stability and Order, from free Governments. These Advantages are the sole Growth of Republics. The extensive Despotism of a barbarous Monarchy, by entering into the Detail of the Government, as well as into the principal Points of Administration, for ever prevents all such Improvements.

In a civiliz'd Monarchy, the Prince alone is unrestrain'd in the Exercise of his Authority, and possesses alone a Power, which is not bounded by any Thing but Custom, Example, and the Sense of his own Interest. Every Minister or Magistrate, however eminent, must submit to the general Laws, which govern

govern the whole Society, and must exert the Authority delegated to him after the Manner, which is prescribed. The People depend on none but their Sovereign, for the Security of their Property. He is so far remov'd from them, and is so much exempt from private Jealousies or Interests, that this Dependence is not felt. And thus a Species of Government arises, to which, in a high political Rant, we may give the Name of *Tyranny*, but which, by a just and prudent Administration, may afford sufficient Security to the People, and may fulfil almost every End of political Society.

BUT tho' in a civiliz'd Monarchy, as well as in a Republic, the People have sufficient Security for the Enjoyment of their Property; yet in both these Forms of Government, those who possess the supreme Authority have the Disposal of many Honours and Advantages, which sufficiently excite the Ambition and Avarice of Mankind. The only Difference is, that in a Republic, the Candidates for Offices must look downwards, to gain the Suffrages of the People; in a Monarchy, must turn their Attention upwards, to court the good Graces and Favour of the Great. To be successful in the former Way, 'tis necessary for a Man to make himself *useful*, by his Industry, Capacity, or Knowledge: To be prosperous in the latter Way, 'tis requisite for him to render himself *agreeable*, by his Wit, Complaisance, or Civility. A strong Genius succeeds best in Republics: A refined Taste in Monarchies. And consequently the Sciences are

the more natural Growth of the one, and the polite Arts of the other.

NOT to mention, that Monarchies, receiving their chief Stability from a superstitious Reverence to Priests and Princes, have always abridg'd the Liberty of Reasoning, with Regard to Religion and Politics, and consequently Metaphysics and Morals. All these form the most considerable Branches of Science. Mathematics and natural Philosophy, which are the only ones that remain, are not half so valuable.

THERE is a very great Connection among all the Arts, that contribute to Pleasure; and the same Delicacy of Taste, which enables us to make Improvements in one, will not allow the others to remain altogether rude and barbarous. Amongst all the Arts of Conversation, no one pleases more than mutual Deference and Civility, which leads us to resign our own Inclinations to those of our Companion, and to curb and conceal that Presumption and Arrogance so natural to the Mind of Mân. A good-natur'd Man, that is well educated, practises this Civility to every Mortal, without Premeditation or Interest: But, in order to render that valuable Quality general among any People, it seems necessary to assist the natural Dispositions by some general Motive. Where Power rises upwards from the People to the Great, as in all Republics, such Refinements of Civility are apt to be little practis'd, since the whole State are, by that Means, brought near to a Level, and every Member

ber of it is render'd, in a great Measure, independent of another. The People have the Advantage, by the Authority of their Suffrages: The Great, by the Superiority of their Station. But in a civiliz'd Monarchy, there is a long Train of Dependence from the Prince to the Peasant, which is not great enough to render Property precarious, or depress the Minds of the People; but is sufficient to beget in every one an Inclination to please his Superiors, and form himself upon those Models, which are most acceptable to People of Condition and Education. Politeness of Manners, therefore, arises most naturally in Monarchies and Courts; and where that flourishes, none of the liberal Arts will be altogether neglected or despis'd.

THE Republics in *Europe* are at present noted for Want of Politeness. *The good Manners of a Swiss civilis'd in Holland* *, is another Expression for Rusticity among the *French*. The *English* fall under the same Censure, notwithstanding their Learning and Genius. And if the *Venetians* be an Exception to the Rule, they owe it, perhaps, to their Communication with the other *Italians*, most of whose Governments beget a Dependence more than sufficient for the civilizing their Manners.

THIS difficult to pronounce any Judgment concerning the Refinements of the ancient Republics in this Particular: But I am apt to suspect, that the Arts

* *C'est la politesse d'un Suisse*

En Hollande civilisé.

Roussau,

of Conversation were not brought so near Perfection amongst them as the Arts of Writing and Composition. The Scurrility of the Ancients, in many Instances, is quite shocking, and exceeds all Belief. Their Vanity also is often not a little offensive; as well as the common Licentiousness and Immodesty of their Style, *Quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, pene, bona patria laceraverat*, says *Sallust* in one of the gravest and most moral Passages of his History. *Nam fuit ante Helenam Cumus terribilis belli causa*, is an Expression of *Horace*, in tracing the Origin of moral Good and Evil. *Ovid* and *Lucretius* † are almost as licentious in their Style as my Lord *Rocheſter*; tho' the former were fine Gentlemen and delicate Writers, and the latter was an abandon'd and shameless Profligate. *Juvenal* inculcates Modesty with great Zeal; but sets a very bad Example of it, if we consider the Impudence of his Expressions.

I SHALL also be so bold, as to affirm, That among the Ancients, there was not much Delicacy of Breeding, or that polite Deference and Respect, which Civility obliges us either to express or counterfeit towards the Persons we converse with. *Cicero* was certainly one of the politest Gentlemen of his

† This Poet recommends a very extraordinary Cure for Love, and what one expects not to meet with in so elegant and philosophical a Poem. It seems to have been the Original of some of *Dr. Swift's* beautiful and cleanly Images. See *Lib. IV. 116*:. The elegant *Catullus* and *Phaedrus* fall under the same Censure.

Age;

Age; and yet I must confess I have frequently been shockt with the poor Figure under which he represents his Friend *Atticus*, in those Dialogues, wherein he himself is introduc'd as a Speaker. That learned and virtuous *Roman*, whose Dignity, tho' he was only a private Gentleman, was inferior to that of no one in *Rome*, is there shewn in rather a more pitiful Light than *Philalethes's* Friend in our modern Dialogues. He is a humble Admirer of the Orator, pays him frequent Compliments, and receives his Instructions, with all the Deference that a Scholar owes to his Master. Even *Cato* is treated in a very Cavalier-manner in the Dialogues *de finibus*. And 'tis remarkable, that *Cicero*, being a great Sceptic in Matters of Religion, and unwilling to determine any Thing on that Head among the different Sects of Philosophy, introduces his Friends disputing concerning the Being and Nature of the Gods, while he is only a Hearer; because, forsooth, it would have been an Impropriety for so great a Genius as himself, had he spoke, not to have said something decisive on the Subject, and have carried every Thing before him, as he always does on other Occasions. There is also a Spirit of Dialogue observ'd in the charming Books *de Oratore*, and a tolerable Equality maintain'd among the Speakers: But then these Speakers are the great Men of the Age preceding the Author, and he recounts the Conference as only from Hearsay.

'Tis but a very indifferent Compliment, which *Horace* pays to his Friend *Grosphus*, in the Ode ad-

dress to him. *No one, says he, is happy in every Respect. And I may perhaps enjoy some Advantages, which you are depriv'd of. You possess great Riches: Your bellowing Herds cover the Silician Plains: Your Chariot is drawn by the finest Horses: And you are array'd in the richest Purple. But the indulgent Fates, with a small Inheritance, have given ME a fine Genius, and have endow'd me with a Contempt for the malignant Judgments of the Vulgar. Phædrus says to his Patron, Eutychus, If you design to read my Works, I shall be pleas'd: If not, I shall, at least, have the Advantage of pleasing Posterity†. I am apt to think, that a modern Poet wou'd not have been guilty of such an Impropriety as that which may be observ'd in Virgil's Address to Augustus, when, after a great deal of extravagant Flattery, and after having deify'd the Emperor, according to the Custom of those Times, he, at last, places this God on the same Le-

* ——— Nihil est ab omni

Parte beatum.

Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,

Longa Tithonum minuit senectus,

Et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit,

Porriget hora.

Te greges centum, Siculaque circum

Mugiant vacca: tibi tollit, binni-

Tum apta quadrigis equa: te bis Afro

Murice tinctæ.

Vestiunt lance: mihi parva rura, &

Spiritum Græcæ tenuem Camænæ

Parca non mendax dedit & malignum

Spernere vulgus.

Lib. 2. Ode 16.

† Quem si leges, latabor; sin autem minus, habebunt certe quo se oblectent posteri,

vel

vel with himself. * *By your gracious Nod, says he, render my undertaking prosperous; and taking Pity, along with me, of the Savains ignorant of Husbandry, bestow your favourable Influence on this Work. Had Men, in that Age, been accusom'd to observe such Niceties, a Writer so delicate as Virgil would certainly have given a different Turn to this Sentence. The*

* *Ignaresque vie mecum miseratus agrestes
Ingredere, & vetis jam nunc assuesce vocari.*

One would not say to a Prince or great Man, *When you and I were in such a Place, we saw such a Thing happen. But when you were in such a Place, I attended on you: And such a Thing happen'd.*

Here I cannot forbear mentioning a Piece of Delicacy observ'd in France, which seems to me excessive and ridiculous. You must not say, *That is a very fine Dog, Madam.* But, *Madam, that is a very fine Dog.* They think it indecent, that those Words, *Dog* and *Madam* should be coupled together in the Sentence; tho' they have no Reference to each other in the Sense.

After all, I acknowledge, that this Reasoning from single Passages of ancient Authors may seem fallacious; and that the foregoing Arguments cannot have great Force, but with those who are well acquainted with these Authors, and know the Truth of the general Position. For instance, what Absurdity would it be to assert, that *Virgil* understood not the Force of the Terms he employs, and could not chuse his Epithets with Propriety? because in the following Lines, address'd also to *Augustus*, he has fail'd in that Particular, and has ascrib'd to the *Indians* a Quality, which seems, in a Manner, to turn his Hero into Ridicule.

— *Et te, maxime Cæsar,
Qui nunc extremis Asiae jam victor in oris
Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum,*

Georg. Lib. II.
Court

Court of *Augustus*, however polite, had not yet, it seems, wore off the Manners of the Republic.

CARDINAL *Wolsey* apologiz'd for his famous Piece of Insolence, in saying, EGO ET REX MEUS, *I and my King*, by observing, that this Expression was exactly conformable to the *Latin* Idiom, and that a *Roman* always nam'd himself before the Person to whom, or of whom he spake. Yet this seems to have been an Instance of Want of Civility among that People. The Ancients made it a Rule, That the Person of the greatest Dignity should be mention'd first in the Discourse; insomuch, that we find, the Spring of a Quarrel and Jealousy betwixt the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, to have been a Poet's naming the *Ætolians* before the *Romans*, in celebrating a Victory gain'd by their united Arms over the *Macedonians* *.

IF the Superiority in Politeness should be allow'd to modern Times, the modern Notions of *Gallantry* and *Honour*, the natural Product of Courts and Monarchies, will probably be assign'd as the Causes of this Refinement. No one denies these Inventions to be modern †: But some of the most zealous Partizans of the Ancients, have asserted them to be soppish and ridiculous, and a Reproach, rather than an Honour to the present Age ‡. It may here be proper to

* *Plut.* in vita *Flaminini*.

† In the *Self-Tormenter* of *Terence*, *Clinias*, whenever he comes to Town, instead of waiting on his Mistress, sends for her to come to him.

‡ My Lord *Shaftsbury*, see his *Moralists*.

examine this Question, with regard both to Gallantry and Honour. We shall begin with Gallantry.

NATURE has implanted in all living Creatures an Affection betwixt the Sexes, which even in the fiercest and most rapacious Animals, is not merely confin'd to the Satisfaction of the bodily Appetite, but begets a Friendship and mutual Sympathy, that runs thro' the whole Tenor of their Lives. Nay, it may farther be observ'd, that even in those Species, where Nature confines the Indulgence of this Appetite to one Season and to one Object, and forms a Kind of Marriage or Association betwixt a single Male and Female, there is yet a visible Complacency and Benevolence, which extends farther, and mutually softens the Affections of the Sexes towards each other*. How much more must this have Place in Man, where the Confinement of the Appetite is not natural; but either proceeds accidentally from some strong Charm of Love, or arises from Reflections on Duty and Convenience? Nothing, therefore, can proceed less from Affectation than the Passion of Gallantry. 'Tis *natural* in the highest Degree. Art and Education, in the most elegant Courts, make no more

* *Tutti gli altri animai, che sono in terra,
O che vivon quieti & stanno in pace;
O si vengon a rissa, & si fan guerra,
A la femina il maschio non la face.
L'orsa con l'orso al bosco sicura erra,
La Leonesse appressò il Leon giace.
Con Lupo vive il Lupa sicura,
Ne la Giovenca ha del Torel paura,*

Ariosto Canto 5.
Altera-

Alteration on it, than on all the other laudable Passions. They only turn the Mind more towards it: They refine it; they polish it; and give it a proper Grace and Expression.

BUT Gallantry is as *generous* as it is *natural*. To correct such gross Vices, as lead us to commit a real Injury to others, is the Part of Morals, and the Object of the most ordinary Education. Where *that* is not attended to, in some Degree, no human Society can subsist. But in order to render Conversation, and the Intercourse of Minds more easy and agreeable, Good-manners have been invented, and have carry'd the Matter somewhat farther. Wherever Nature has given the Mind a Propensity to any Vice, or to any Passion disagreeable to others, refin'd Breeding has taught Men to throw the Byass on the opposite Side, and to preserve, in all their Behaviour, the Appearance of Sentiments contrary to those which they naturally incline to. Thus, as we are naturally proud and selfish, and apt to assume the Preference above others, a polite Man is taught to behave with Defe-
rence towards those he converses with, and to yield the Superiority to them in all the common Incidents of Society. In like Manner, wherever a Person's Situation may naturally beget any disagreeable Suspicion in him, 'tis the Part of Good-manners to prevent it, by a studied Display of Sentiments, directly contrary to those which he is apt to be jealous of. Thus, old Men know their Infirmities, and are apt to dread Contempt from the Youth: Hence, well-educated Youth redouble the Instances of Respect and Defe-

rence to their Elders. Strangers and Foreigners are without Protection: Hence, in all polite Countries, they receive the highest Civilities, and are intitled to the first Place in every Company. A Man is Lord in his own Family, and his Guests are, in a Manner, subjected to his Authority: Hence, he is always the lowest Person in the Company; attentive to the Wants of every one; and giving himself all the Trouble, in order to please, which may not betray too visible an Affectation, or impose too much Constraint on his Guests. Gallantry is nothing but an Instance of the same generous and refin'd Behaviour. As Nature has given *Man* the Superiority above *Woman*, by endowing him with greater Strength both of Mind and Body, 'tis his Part to alleviate that Superiority, as much as possible, by the Generosity of his Behaviour, and by a study'd Deference and Complaisance for all her Inclinations and Opinions. Barbarous Nations display this Superiority, by reducing their Females to the most abject Slavery; by confining them, by beating them, by selling them, by killing them. But the Male-Sex, among a polite People, discover their Authority in a more generous, tho' not a less evident Manner; by Civility, by Respect, by Complaisance, and, in a Word, by Gallantry. In good Company, you need not ask, Who is the Master of the Feast? The Man, who sits in the lowest Place, and who is always industrious in helping every one, is most certainly the Person. We must either condemn all such Instances of Generosity, as foppish and affected, or admit of Gallantry among the rest. The ancient *Muscovites* wedded their Wives with a Whip, instead
of

of a Wedding-Ring. The same People, in their own Houses, took always the Precedency above Foreigners, even * foreign Ambassadors. These two Instances of their Generosity and Politeness are much of a Piece.

GALLANTRY is not less consistent with *Wisdom* and *Prudence*, than with *Nature* and *Generosity*; and, when under proper Regulations, contributes, more than any other Invention, to the *Entertainment* and *Improvement* of the Youth of both Sexes. In all Vegetables, 'tis observable, that the Flower and the Seed are always connected together; and in like Manner, among every Species of Animals, Nature has founded on the Love betwixt the Sexes their sweetest and best Enjoyment. But the Satisfaction of the bodily Appetite is not alone of great Value; and even in brute Creatures, we find, that their Play and Dalliance, and other Expressions of Fondness, form the greatest Part of the Entertainment. In rational Creatures, we must certainly admit the Mind for a considerable Share. Were we to rob the Feast of all its Garniture of Reason, Discourse, Sympathy, Friendship, and Gaiety, what remains would scarce be worth Acceptance, in the Judgment of the truly elegant and luxurious.

WHAT better School for Manners, than the Company of virtuous Women; where the mutual Endeavour to please must insensibly polish the Mind, where the Example of the Female Softness and Modesty

* See, *Relation of three Embassies*, by Earl of Carlisle.

must communicate itself to their Admirers, and where the Delicacy of that Sex puts every one on his Guard, lest he give Offence by any Breach of Decency ?

I MUST confess, That my own particular Choice rather leads me to prefer the Company of a few select Companions, with whom I can, calmly and peaceably, enjoy the Feast of Reason, and try the Justness of every Reflection, whether gay or serious, that may occur to me. But as such a delightful Society is not every Day to be met with, I must think, that mixt Companies, without the Fair-Sex, are the most insipid Entertainment in the World, and destitute of Gaiety and Politeness, as much as of Sense and Reason. Nothing can keep them from excessive Dullness but hard Drinking; a Remedy worse than the Disease.

AMONG the Ancients, the Character of the Fair-Sex was considered as altogether domestic, nor were they regarded as Part of the polite World, or of good Company. This, perhaps, is the true Reason why the Ancients have not left us one Piece of Pleasantry, that is excellent, (unless one may except the Banquet of *Xenophon*, and some Dialogues of *Lucian*) tho' many of their serious Compositions are altogether inimitable. *Horace* condemns the coarse Railleries and cold Jest of *Plautus* : But, are his own much more entertaining ? This, therefore, is one considerable Improvement, which the polite Arts have receiv'd from Gallantry, and from Courts, where it first arose.

THE

THE Point of *Honour* is a modern Invention, as well as *Gallantry*; and by some esteem'd equally useful for the refining of Manners: But how it has contributed to that Effect, I am at a Loss to determine. Conversation, among the greatest Rustics, is not commonly infested with such Rudeness as can give Occasion to Duels, even according to the most refin'd Laws of this fantastic Honour; and, as to the other smaller Indecencies, which are the most offensive, because the most frequent, they can never be cur'd by the Practice of Duelling. But these Notions are not only *useless* but *pernicious*. By separating the Man of Honour from the Man of Virtue, the greatest Profligates have got something to value themselves upon, and have been able to keep themselves in Countenance, tho' guilty of the most shameful and most dangerous Vices. They are Debauchees, Spendthrifts, and never pay a Farthing they owe: But they are Men of Honour; and therefore are to be receiv'd as Gentlemen in all Companies.

THERE are some of the Parts of modern Honour, which are the most essential Parts of Morality; such as Fidelity, the observing Promises, and telling Truth. These Points of Honour Mr. *Addison* had in his Eye, when he made *Juba* say,

*Honour's a sacred Tie, the Law of Kings,
The noble Mind's distinguishing Perfection,
That aids and strengthens Virtue, when it meets her,
And imitates her Actions where she is not:
It ought not to be sported with.*

These

These Lines are very beautiful : But I am afraid, that Mr. *Addison* has here been guilty of that Impropriety of Sentiment with which, on other Occasions, he has so justly reproach'd our Poets. The Ancients certainly never had any Notion of *Honour* as distinct from *Virtue*.

BUT, to return from this Digression, I shall advance it as a *fourth* Observation on this Head, of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences, *That when the Arts and Sciences come to Perfection in any State, from that Moment they naturally, or rather necessarily decline, and seldom or never revive in that Nation, where they formerly flourish'd.*

It must be confess'd, that this Maxim, tho' conformable to Experience, may, at first Sight, be esteem'd very contrary to Reason. If the natural Genius of Mankind be the same in all Ages, and in almost all Countries, (as I am of Opinion it is) it must very much forward and cultivate this Genius, to be possess'd of exact Models in every Art, to regulate the Taste, and fix the Objects of Imitation. The Models left us by the Ancients gave Birth to all the Arts about 200 Years ago, and have mightily advanc'd their Progress in every Country of *Europe* : Why had they not a like Effect during the Reign of *Trajan* and his Successors, when they were much more entire, and were still admir'd and study'd by the whole World ? So late as the Emperor *Justinian*, the POET, by Way of Distinction, was understood, among the *Greeks*, to be *Homer* : among the *Romans*, *Virgil*. Such Admiration still remain'd

main'd for these divine Geniuses ; tho' no Poet had appear'd for many Centuries, who could justly pretend to have imitated them.

A MAN's Genius is always, in the Beginning of his Life, as much unknown to himself as to others ; and 'tis only after frequent Trials, attended with Success, that he dares think himself equal to those Undertakings, in which they who have succeeded, have fixt the Admiration of Mankind. If his own Nation be already possess'd of many glorious Models of Eloquence, he naturally compares his own juvenile Exercises with these ; and being sensible of the infinite Disproportion betwixt them, is discourag'd from any further Attempts, and never dares aspire to a Rivalship with those Authors, whom he so much admires. A noble Emulation is the Source of every Excellence. Admiration and Modesty naturally extinguish this Emulation. And no one is so liable to an Excess of Admiration and Modesty, as a truly great Genius.

NEXT to Emulation, the greatest Encourager of the noble Arts is Praise and Glory. A Writer is animated with new Force, when he hears the Applauses of the World for his former Productions ; and, being rous'd by such a Motive, he often reaches a Pitch of Perfection, which is equally surprizing to himself and to his Readers. But when the Poss of Honour are all occupy'd, his first Attempts are but coldly receiv'd by the Public, being compar'd to Productions, which are both in themselves more excellent, and have already the Advantage of an establish'd Reputation. Were

Moliere

Moliere or *Corneille* to bring upon the Stage at present their early Productions, which were formerly so well receiv'd, 'twould discourage the young Poets, to see the Indifference and Disdain of the Public. The Ignorance of the Age alone could have given Admission to the *Prince of Tyre*; but 'tis to that we owe *the Moor*: Had every Man in his Humour been rejected, we had never seen *Volpone*.

PERHAPS it may not be for the Advantage of any Nation, to have the Arts imported from their Neighbours in too great Perfection. This extinguishes Emulation, and sinks the Ardour of the generous Youth. So many perfect Models of *Italian* Painting brought into *Great Britain*, instead of exciting our Artists, is the Cause of their small Progress in that noble Art. The same, perhaps, was the Case of *Rome*, when it receiv'd the Arts from *Greece*. That Multitude of finish'd Productions in the *French* Language, dispers'd all over *Germany* and the *North*, hinder these Nations from cultivating their own Language, and keep them still dependent on their Neighbours for those elegant Entertainments.

'Tis true, the Ancients had left us Models in every Kind of Writing, which are highly worthy of Admiration. But besides that they were wrote in Languages, which were known only to the Learned; besides this, I say, the Comparifon is not so perfect nor intire betwixt modern Wits, and those who liv'd in so remote an Age. Had *Waller* been born in *Rome*, during the Reign of *Tiberius*, his first Productions had
been

been despis'd, when compar'd to the finish'd Odes of *Horace*. But in this Island the Superiority of the *Roman* Poet diminish'd nothing from the Fame of the *Englisk*. We thought ourselves sufficiently happy, that our Climate and Language could produce but a faint Copy of so excellent an Original.

IN short, the Arts and Sciences, like some Plants, require a fresh Soil ; and however rich the Land may be, and however you may recruit it by Art or Care, it will never, when once exhausted, produce any thing that is perfect or finish'd in the Kind.

ESSAY XVIII.

The EPICUREAN †.

TIS a great Mortification to the Vanity of Man, that his utmost Art and Industry can never equal the meanest of Nature's Productions, either for Beauty or Value. Art is only the Underworkman, and is employ'd to give a few Strokes of Embellishment to those Pieces, which come from the Hand of the Master. Some of the Drapery may be of his Drawing; but he is not allow'd to touch the principal Figure. Art may make a Suit of Clothes: But Nature must produce a Man.

EVEN in those Productions, which are commonly denominated Works of Art, we find, that the noblest of the Kind are beholden for their chief Beauty to the

† Or, the Man of Elegance and Pleasure. The Intention of this and the three following Essays is not so much, to explain accurately the Sentiments of the ancient Sects of Philosophy, as to deliver the Sentiments of Sects, that naturally form themselves in the World, and entertain different Ideas of human Life and of Happiness. I have given each of them the Name of the Philosophical Sect, to which it bears the greatest Affinity.

Force and happy Influence of Nature. To the *Osculum* or *Verve* of the Poets, we owe whatever is admirable in their Productions. The greatest Genius, where Nature at any Time fails him (for she is not equal) throws aside the Lyre, and hopes not, from the Rules of Art, to reach that Divine Harmony, which must proceed from her Inspiration alone. How poor are those Songs, where a happy flow of Fancy has not furnish'd Materials for Art to embellish and refine!

BUT of all the fruitless Attempts of Art, no one is so ridiculous, as that which the severe Philosophers have undertaken, the producing an *artificial Happiness*, and making us be pleas'd by Rules of Reason, and by Reflection. Why did none of them claim the Reward, which *Xerxes* promis'd to any one, that could invent a new Pleasure. Unless, perhaps, they invented so many Pleasures for their own Use, that they despis'd Riches, and stood in no Need of any Pleasures, which the Rewards of that Monarch could procure them. I am apt, indeed, to think, that they were not willing to furnish the Court of *Persia* with a new Pleasure, by presenting it with so new and unusual an Object of Ridicule. Their Speculations, when confin'd to Theory, and gravely deliver'd in the Schools of *Greece*, might excite Admiration in their ignorant Pupils: But the attempting to reduce such Principles to Practice would soon betray their Absurdity.

You pretend to make me happy by Reason, and by Rules of Art. You must, then, create me anew by Rules of Art. For on my inward Frame and
Structure

Structure does my Happiness depend. But you want Power to effectuate this; and Skill too, I am afraid; Nor can I entertain a less Opinion of Nature's Wisdom than of yours. And let her conduct the Machine, which she has so wisely fram'd. I find, that I should only spoil it by my tampering.

To what Purpose should I pretend to regulate, refine, or invigorate any of those Springs or Principles, which Nature has implanted in me? Is this the Road by which I must reach Happiness? But Happiness implies Ease, Contentment, Repose and Pleasure; not Watchfulness, Care, and Fatigue. The Health of my Body consists in the Facility with which all its Operations are performed. The Stomach digests the Aliments: The Heart circulates the Blood: The Brain separates and refines the Spirits: And all this without my concerning myself in the Matter. When by my Will alone I can stop the Blood, as it runs with Impetuosity along its Canals, then may I hope to change the Course of my Sentiments and Passions. In vain should I strain my Faculties, and endeavour to receive Pleasure from an Object, which is not fitted by Nature to affect my Organs with Delight. I may give myself Pain by my fruitless Endeavours, but shall never reach any Pleasure.

Away then with all those vain Pretences of making ourselves happy within ourselves, of feasting on our own Thoughts, of being satisfy'd with the Consciousness of Well-doing, and of despising all Assistance and all Supplies from external Objects. This is the Voice

of PRIDE, not of NATURE. And 'twere well, if even this Pride could support itself, and communicate a real *inward* Pleasure, however melancholy or severe. But this impotent Pride can do no more than regulate the *Outside*; and with infinite Pains and Attention compose the Language and Countenance to a Philosophical Dignity, in order to deceive the ignorant Vulgar. The Heart, mean while, is empty of all Enjoyment: And the Mind, unsupported by its proper Objects, sinks down into the deepest Sorrow and Melancholy. Miserable, but vain Mortal! Thy Mind be happy within itself! With what Resources is it endow'd to fill so immense a Void, and supply the Place of all thy bodily Senses and Faculties? Can thy Head subsist without thy other Members? In such a Situation,

*What foolish Figure must it make?
Do nothing else but sleep and ake.*

Into such a Lethargy, or such a Melancholy, must thy Mind be plung'd, when depriv'd of foreign Occupations and Enjoyments.

KEEP me, therefore, no longer in this violent Constraint. Confine me not within myself; but point out to me those Objects and Pleasures, which afford the chief Enjoyment. But why do I apply to you, proud and ignorant Sages, to shew me the Road to Happiness? Let me consult my own Passions and Inclinations. In them must I read the Dictates of Nature; not in your frivolous Discourses.

BUT

BUT see, propitious to my Wishes, the divine, the amiable * PLEASURE, the supreme Love of GODS and Men, advances towards me. At her Approach, my Heart beats with genial Heat, and every Sense and every Faculty is dissolv'd in Joy ; while she pours around me all the Embellishments of the Spring, and all the Treasures of the Autumn. The Melody of her Voice charms my Ears with the softest Music, as she invites me to partake of those delicious Fruits, which, with a Smile that diffuses a Glory on the Heavens and the Earth, she presents to me. The sportive *Cupids*, that attend her, or fan me with their odoriferous Wings, or pour on my Head the most fragrant Oils, or offer me their sparkling Nectar in golden Goblets. O ! for ever let me spread my Limbs on this Bed of Roses, and thus, thus feel the delicious Moments, with soft and downy Steps, glide along. But cruel Chance ! Whither do you fly so fast ? Why do my ardent Wishes, and that Load of Pleasures, which you labour under, rather hasten than retard your unrelenting Pace ? Suffer me to enjoy this soft Repose, after all my Fatigues in Search of Happiness. Suffer me to satiate myself with these Delicacies, after the Pains of so long and so foolish an Abstinence.

BUT 'twill not do. The Roses have lost their Hue : The Fruit its Flavour : And that delicious Wine, whose Fumes, so late, intoxicated all my

* *Dia voluptas*, LUCRET.

Senses with such Delight, does now in vain solicit the sated Palate. *Pleasure* smiles at my Languor. She beckens to her Sister, *Virtue*, to come to her Assistance. The gay, the frolic *Virtue* hears her Voice, and brings along the whole Troop of my jovial Friends. Welcome, thrice Welcome, my ever dear Companions, to these shady Bowers, and to this luxurious Repast. Your Presence has restor'd to the Rose its Hue, and to the Fruit its Flavour. The Vapours of this sprightly Nectar do now again play round my Heart; while you partake of my Delights, and discover in your chearful Looks, the Pleasure you receive from my Happiness and Satisfaction. The like do I receive from yours; and encourag'd by your joyous Presence, shall again renew the Feast, with which, from too much Enjoyment, my Senses were well-nigh sated; while the Mind kept not pace with the Body, nor afforded Relief to her o'er-burthen'd Partner.

In our chearful Discourses, better than in the formal Reasonings of the Schools, is true Wisdom to be found. In our friendly Endearments, better than in the hollow Debates of Statesmen and pretended Patriots, does true *Virtue* display itself. Forgetful of the past, secure of the future, let us here enjoy the present; and while we yet possess a Being, let us fix some Good, beyond the Power of Fate or Fortune. To-morrow will bring its own Pleasures along with it: But should it disappoint our fond Wishes, we shall at least enjoy the Pleasure of reflecting on the Pleasures of To-day.

FEAR not, my Friends, that the barbarous Dissonance of *Bacchus*, and of his Revellers, should break in upon this Entertainment, and confound us with their horrid Discord. The sprightly Muses wait around; and with their charming Symphony, sufficient to soften the Wolves and Tygers of the Savage Desert, inspire a soft Joy into every Bosom. Peace, Harmony, and Concord reign in this Retreat; nor is the Silence ever broke but by the Music of our Songs, or the cheerful Accents of our friendly Voices.

BUT hark! the Favourite of the Muses, the gentle *Damon*, strikes the Lyre; and while he accompanies its harmonious Notes with his more harmonious Song, he inspires us with the same happy Debauch of Fancy, by which he is himself transported. “Ye favour’d
“ of Heaven †, he sings, while the wanton Spring
“ pours upon you all her blooming Honours, let not
“ *Glory* seduce you, with her delusive Blaze, to pass
“ in Perils and Dangers this delicious Season, this
“ Prime of Life. Wisdom points out to you the
“ Road to Pleasure: Nature too beckens to you to
“ follow her in that smooth and flowry Path. Will
“ you shut your Ears to their commanding Voice?
“ Will you harden your Heart to their soft Allure-
“ ments? Oh, deluded Mortals, thus to lose your

† An Imitation of the Syrens Song in *Tasso*.

O Giovinetti, mentre Aprile & Maggio

V' ammantan di fioritè & verdi speglie, &c.

Giurefalemme liberata, Canto 14.

' Youth ; thus to throw away so invaluable a Present,
 " to trifle with so perishing a Blessing. Contemplate
 " well your Recompence. Consider that Glory,
 " which so allures your proud Hearts, and seduces
 " you with your own Praises. 'Tis an Eccho, a
 " Dream, nay the Shadow of a Dream, which is dis-
 " sipated by every Wind, and lost by every contrary
 " Breath of the ignorant and ill-judging Multitude.
 " You fear not, that even Death itself will ravish it
 " from you. But behold ! while you are yet alive,
 " Calumny bereaves you of it, Ignorance neglects it ;
 " Nature enjoys it not ; Fancy alone, renouncing
 " every Pleasure, receives this airy Recompence,
 " empty and unstable as itself."

THUS the Hours pass unperceiv'd along, and lead
 in their wanton Train all the Pleasures of Sense, and
 all the Joys of Harmony and Friendship. Smiling
Innocence closes the Procession ; and while she presents
 herself to our ravish'd Eyes, she embellishes the
 whole Scene, and renders the View of these Pleasures
 as transporting, after they have past us, as when,
 with laughing Countenances, they were yet advancing
 towards us.

BUT the Sun has sunk below the Horizon ; and
 Darknefs stealing silently upon us, has now bury'd all
 Nature in an universal Shade. " Rejoice, my Friends ;
 " continue your Repast, or change it for soft Repose.
 " Tho' absent, your Joy or your Tranquillity shall
 " still be mine." *But whither do you go ? Or what
 new Pleasures call you from our Society ? Is there aught
 agreeable without your Friends ? And can aught please,*
in

in which we partake not? “Yes, my Friends; the
 “Joy, which I now seek, admits not of your Parti-
 “cipation. Here alone I wish your Absence: And
 “here alone can I find a sufficient Compensation for
 “the Loss of your Society.”

BUT I have not advanc'd far thro' the Shades of the
 thick Wood, which spreads a double Night around me,
 e're, methinks, I perceive thro' the Gloom, the
 charming *Cælia*, the Mistress of my Wishes, who wan-
 ders impatient thro' the Grove, and preventing the
 appointed Hour, silently chides my tardy Steps. But
 the Joy, which she receives from my Presence, best
 pleads my Excuse; and dissipating every anxious and
 every angry Thought, leaves room for nought but mu-
 tual Joy and Rapture. With what Words, my fair
 one, shall I express my Tendernefs, or describe the
 Emotions which now warm my transported Bosom! Words
 are too faint to describe my Love; and if, alas! you
 feel not the same Flame within you, in vain shall
 I endeavour to convey to you a just Conception of it.
 But your every Word and every Motion suffice to re-
 move this Doubt; and while they express your Pas-
 sion, serve also to enflame mine. How amiable this
 Solitude, this Silence, this Darknefs! No Objects now
 importune the ravish'd Soul. The Thought, the
 Sense, all full of nothing but our mutual Happiness,
 do wholly possess the Mind, and convey a Pleasure,
 which deluded Mortals vainly seek for in every other
 Enjoyment. —

BUT why does your Bosom heave with these Sighs,
 while Tears bathe your glowing Cheeks? Why di-

tract your Heart with such vain Anxieties? Why so often ask me, *How long my Love shall yet endure?* Alas, my *Calia*, Can I resolve this Question? *Do I know how long my Life shall yet endure?* But does this also disturb your tender Breast? And is the Image of our frail Mortality for ever present with you, to throw a Damp on your gayest Hours, and poison even those Joys which Love inspires. Consider rather, that if Life be frail, if youth be transitory, we should well employ the present Moment, and lose no Part of so perishable an Existence. Yet a little Moment, and *these* shall be no more. We shall be, as if we had never been. Not a Memory of us be left upon Earth; and even the fabulous Shades below will not afford us a Habitation. Our fruitless Anxieties, our vain Projects, our uncertain Speculations shall all be swallow'd up and lost. Our present Doubts, concerning the original Cause of all Things, must never, alas! be resolv'd. This alone we may be certain of, that if any governing Mind preside over the Universe, he must be pleas'd to see us fulfil the Ends of our Being, and enjoy that Pleasure, for which alone we were created. Let this Reflection give Ease to your anxious Thoughts; but do not render your Joys too serious, by dwelling for ever upon it. 'Tis sufficient, once for all, to be acquainted with this Philosophy, in order to give an unbounded Loose to Love and Jollity, and remove all the Scruples of a vain Superstition: But while Youth and Passion, my Fair-one, prompt our eager Desires, we must find gayer Subjects of Discourse, to intermix with these amorous Caresses.

ESSAY XIX.

The Stoic †.

THERE is this obvious and material Difference in the Conduct of Nature, with regard to Man and other Animals, that having endow'd the former with a sublime celestial Spirit, and having given him an Affinity with superior Beings, she allows not such noble Faculties to lye lethargic or idle ; but urges him, by Necessity, to employ, on every Emergence, his utmost *Art* and *Industry*. Brute Creatures have many of their Necessities supply'd by Nature, being cloath'd and arm'd by this beneficent Parent of all Things : And where their own *Industry* is requisite on any Occasion, Nature, by implanting Instincts, still supplies them with the *Art*, and guides them to their Good, by her unerring Precepts. But Man, expos'd naked and indigent to the rude Elements, rises slowly from that helpless State, by the Care and Vigilance of his Parents ; and having attain'd his utmost Growth and Perfection, reaches only a Capacity of subsisting, by his own Care and Vigilance. Every thing is sold to Skill and Labour ; and where Nature furnishes the

† Or the Man of Action and Virtue.

Materials, they are still rude and unfinish'd, till Industry, ever active and intelligent, refines them from their brute State, and fits them for human Use and Convenience.

ACKNOWLEDGE, therefore, O Man, the Beneficence of Nature : For she has given thee that Intelligence which supplies all thy Necessities. But let not Indolence, under the false Appearance of Gratitude, persuade thee to rest contented with her Presents. Wou'd'st thou return to the raw Herbage for thy Food, to the open Sky for thy Covering, and to Stones and Clubs for thy Defence against the ravenous Animals of the Desert ? Then return also to thy savage Manners, to thy timorous Superstition, to thy brutal Ignorance ; and sink thyself below those Animals, whose Condition thou admirest, and wou'd'st so fondly imitate.

THY kind Parent, Nature, having given thee Art and Intelligence, has fill'd the whole Globe with Materials for these Talents to work upon : Harken to her Voice, which so plainly tells thee, that thou thyself shou'd'st also be the Object of thy Industry, and that by Art and Attention thou can'st alone acquire that Ability, which will raise thee to thy proper Station in the Universe. Behold this Artizan, who converts a rude and shapeless Stone into a noble Metal ; and molding that Metal by his cunning Hands, creates, as it were by Magic, every Weapon for his Defence, and every Utensil for his Convenience. He has not this Skill from Nature : Use and Practice have taught
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it him : And if thou wou'dst emulate his Success, thou must follow his laborious Footsteps.

BUT while thou *ambitiously* aspirest to the perfecting thy bodily Powers and Faculties, wou'dst thou *meanly* neglect thy Mind, and from a preposterous Sloth, leave it still rude and uncultivated, as it came from the Hands of Nature ? Far be such Folly and Negligence from every rational Being. If Nature has been frugal in her Gifts and Endowments, there is the more Need of Art to supply her Defects. If she has been generous and liberal, know that she still expects Industry and Application on our Part, and revenges herself in Proportion to our negligent Ingratitude. The richest Genius, like the most fertile Soil, when uncultivated, shoots up into the rankest Weeds ; and instead of Vines and Olives for the Pleasure and Use of Man, produces to its slothful Owner the most abundant Crop of Poisons.

THE great End of all human Industry, is the Attainment of Happiness. For this were Arts invented, Sciences cultivated, Laws ordain'd, and Societies modell'd, by the profoundest Wisdom of Patriots and Legislators. Even the lonely Savage, who lyes expos'd to the Inclemency of the Elements, and the Fury of wild Beasts, forgets not, for a Moment, this grand Object of his Being. Ignorant as he is of every Art of Life, he keeps still in View the End of all those Arts, and eagerly seeks for Felicity amidst that Darkness with which he is environ'd. But as much as the wildest Savage is inferior to the polish'd Citizen, who
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under the Protection of Laws, enjoys every Convenience that Industry has invented; so much is this Citizen himself inferior to the Man of Virtue, and the true Philosopher, who governs his Appetites, subdues his Passions, and has learn'd, from Reason, to set a just Value on every Pursuit and Enjoyment. For is there an Art and Apprenticeship requisite for every other Attainment? And is there no Art of Life, no Rule, no Precepts to direct us in this principal Concern? Can no particular Pleasure be attain'd without Skill; and can the whole be regulated without Reflection or Intelligence, by the blind Guidance of Appetite and Instinct? Surely then no Mistakes are ever committed in this Affair; but every Man, however dissolute and negligent, proceeds in the Pursuit of Happiness, with as unerring a Motion, as that which the celestial Bodies observe, when, conducted by the Hand of the Almighty, they roll along the ethereal Plains. But if Mistakes be often, be inevitably committed, let us register these Mistakes; let us consider their Causes; let us weigh their Importance; let us enquire for their Remedies. When from this we have fix'd all the Rules of Conduct, we are *Philosophers*: When we have reduc'd these Rules to Practice, we are *Sages*.

LIKE many subordinate Artists, employ'd to form the several Wheels and Springs of a Machine: Such are those who excel in all the particular Arts of Life. *He* is the Master Workman, who puts those several Parts together, moves them according to just Harmony and Proportion, and produces true Felicity as the Result of their conspiring Order.

WHILE

WHILE you have such an alluring Object in View, shall that Labour and Attention, which is requisite to the attaining your End, ever seem burdensome and that intolerable? Know, that this Labour itself is the chief Ingredient of the Felicity to which you aspire, and that every Enjoyment soon becomes insipid and distasteful, when not acquir'd by Travel and Fatigue. See the hardy Hunters rise from their downy Couches, shake off the Slumbers that still weigh down their heavy Eye-lids, and, e'er *Aurora* has yet cover'd the Heavens with her flaming Mantle, hasten to the Forest. They leave behind, in their own Houses, and in the neighbouring Plains, Animals of every Kind, whose Flesh furnishes the most delicious Fare, and which offer themselves to the fatal Stroke. Laborious Man disdain so easy a Purchase. He seeks for a Prey, that hides itself from his Search, or flies from his Pursuit, or defends itself from his Violence. Having exerted in the Chace every Passion of the Mind, and every Member of the Body, he then finds the Charms of Repose, and with Joy compares its Pleasures to those of his engaging Labours.

AND can vigorous Industry give Pleasure to the Pursuit even of the most worthless Prey, which frequently escapes our Toils? And cannot the same Industry render the Cultivation of our Mind, the moderating of our Passions, the enlightening of our Reason, an agreeable Occupation; while we are every Day sensible of our Progress, and behold our inward Features and Countenance brightening incessantly with

new Charms? Begin by curing yourself of this lethargic Indolence; the Task is not difficult: You need but taste the Sweetness of honest Labour. Proceed to learn the just Value of every Pursuit; Long Study is not requisite: Compare, tho' but for once, the Mind to the Body, Virtue to Fortune, and Glory to Pleasure, you will then perceive the Advantages of Industry: You will then be sensible what are the proper Objects of your Industry.

IN vain do you seek Repose from Beds of Roses: In vain do you hope for Enjoyment from the most delicious Wines and Fruits. Your Indolence itself becomes a Fatigue: Your Pleasure itself creates Disgust. The Mind, unexercis'd, finds every Delight insipid and loathsome; and e'er yet the Body, full of noxious Humours, feels the Torment of its multiply'd Diseases, your nobler Part is sensible of the invading Poison, and seeks in vain to relieve its Anxiety by new Pleasures, which still augment the fatal Malady.

I NEED not tell you, that by this eager Pursuit of Pleasure, you more and more expose yourself to Fortune and Accidents, and rivet your Affections on external Objects, which Chance may, in a Moment, ravish from you. I shall suppose, that your indulgent Stars favour you still with the Enjoyment of your Riches and Possessions. I prove to you, that even in the midst of your luxurious Pleasures, you are unhappy; and that, by too much Indulgence, you are incapable of enjoying what prosperous Fortune still allows you to possess.

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BUT surely the Instability of Fortune is a Consideration not to be over-look'd or neglected. Happiness cannot possibly exist, where there is no Security; and Security can have no Place, where Fortune has any Dominion. Tho' that unstable Deity should not exert her Rage against you, the Dread of it would still torment you; would disturb your Slumbers, haunt your Dreams, and throw a Damp on the Jollity of your most delicious Banquets.

THE Temple of Wisdom is seated on a Rock, above the Rage of the fighting Elements, and inaccessible to all the Malice of Man. The rolling Thunder breaks below; and those more terrible Instruments of human Fury reach not to so sublime a Height. The Sage, while he breathes that serene Air, looks down with Pleasure, mixt with Compassion, on the Errors of mistaken Mortals, who blindly seek for the true Path of Life, and pursue Riches, Nobility, Honour, or Power for genuine Felicity. The greatest Part he beholds disappointed of their fond Wishes: Some lament, that having once possess'd the Object of their Desires, it is ravish'd from them by envious Fortune: And all complain, that even their own Vows, tho' granted, cannot give them Happiness, or relieve the Anxiety of their distracted Minds.

BUT does the Sage preserve himself always in this philosophic Indifference, and rest contented with lamenting the Miseries of Mankind, without ever employing himself for their Relief? Does he constantly
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indulge this severe Wisdom, which, by pretending to elevate him above human Accidents, does in Reality harden his Heart, and render him careless of the Interests of Mankind, and of Society? No: he knows, that in this sullen *Apathy*, neither true Wisdom nor true Happiness is to be found. He feels too strongly the Charm of the social Affections ever to counteract so sweet, so natural, so virtuous a Propensity. Even when, bath'd in Tears, he laments the Miseries of human Race, of his Country, of his Friends, and unable to give Succour, can only relieve them by Compassion; he yet rejoices in the generous Disposition, and feels a Satisfaction superior to that of the most indulg'd Sense. So engaging are the Sentiments of Humanity, that they brighten up the very Face of Sorrow, and operate like the Sun, which shining on a dusky Cloud or falling Rain, paints on them the most glorious Colours that are to be found in the whole Circle of Nature.

BUT 'tis not here alone, that the social Virtues display their Energy. With whatever Ingredient you mix them, they are still predominant. As Sorrow cannot overcome them, so neither can sensual Pleasure obscure them. The Joys of Love, however furious and tumultuous, banish not the tender Sentiments of Sympathy and Affection. They even derive their chief Influence from that generous Passion; and when presented alone, afford nothing to the unhappy Mind but Lassitude and Disgust. Behold this sprightly Debauchee, who professes a Contempt of all other Pleasures but those of Wine and Jollity: Separate him from his
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Companions, like a Spark from a Fire, where before it contributed to the general Blaze: His Alacrity suddenly extinguishes; and tho' surrounded with every other Means of Delight, he lothes the sumptuous Banquet, and prefers even the most abstract Study and Speculation, as more agreeable and entertaining.

BUT the social Passions never afford such transporting Pleasures, or make so glorious an Appearance in the Eyes both of GOD and Man, as when, shaking off every earthly Mixture, they associate themselves with the Sentiments of Virtue, and prompt us to laudable and worthy Actions. As harmonious Colours mutually give and receive a Lustre by their friendly Union; so do these ennobling Sentiments of the human Mind. See the Triumph of Nature in parental Affection! What selfish Passion; what sensual Delights are a Match for it! Whether a Man exults in the Prosperity and Virtue of his Offspring, or flies to their Succour, thro' the most threatening and tremendous Dangers?

PROCEED still in purifying the generous Passion, you will still the more admire its shining Glories. What Charms are there in the Harmony of Minds, and in a Friendship founded on mutual Esteem and Gratitude! What Satisfaction in relieving the distressed, in comforting the afflicted, in raising the fallen, and in stopping the Career of cruel Fortune, or of more cruel Man, in their Insults over the good and virtuous! But what supreme Joy in the Victories over Vice as well as Misery, when, by virtuous Example or
wise

wife Exhortation, our Fellow-Creatures are taught to govern their Passions, reform their Vices, and subdue their worst Enemies, which inhabit within their own Bosoms?

BUT these Objects are still too limited for the human Mind, which, being of celestial Origin, swells with the divinest and most enlarg'd Affections, and carrying its Attention beyond Kindred and Acquaintance, extends its benevolent Wishes to the most distant Posterity. It views Liberty and Laws as the Source of human Happiness, and devotes itself with the utmost Alacrity, to their Guardianship and Protection. Toils, Dangers, Death itself carry their Charms, when we brave them for the public Good, and ennobles that Being, which we generously sacrifice for the Interests of our Country. Happy the Man, whom indulgent Fortune allows to pay to Virtue what he owes to Nature, and to make a generous Gift of what must otherwise be ravish'd from him by cruel Necessity.

IN the true Sage and Patriot are united whatever can distinguish human Nature, or elevate mortal Man to a Resemblance with the Divinity. The softest Benevolence, the most undaunted Resolution, the tenderest Sentiments, the most sublime Love of Virtue, all these animate successively his transported Bosom. What Satisfaction, when he looks within, to find the most turbulent Passions tun'd into just Harmony and Concord, and every jarring Sound banish'd from this enchanting Music! If the Contemplation, even of inanimate

inanimate Beauty, be so delightful; if it ravishes the Senses, even when it appears in foreign Objects: What must be the Effects of moral Beauty? And what Influence must it have, when it embellishes our own Mind, and is the Result of our own Reflection and Industry?

BUT where is the Reward of Virtue? And what Recompence has Nature provided for such important Sacrifices, as those of Life and Fortune, which we must often make to it? Oh, Sons of Earth! Are you ignorant of the Value of this celestial Mistress? And do you meanly enquire for her Portion, when you observe her genuine Charms? But know, that Nature has been indulgent to human Weakness, and has not left this Favourite-child naked and unendow'd. She has provided Virtue of the richest Dowry; but being careful, lest the Allurements of Interest shou'd engage such Suitors, as were insensible of the native Worth of so divine a Beauty, she has wisely provided, that this Dowry can have no Charms but in the Eyes of those who are already transported with the Love of Virtue. GLORY is the Portion of Virtue, the sweet Reward of honourable Toils, the triumphant Crown, that covers the thoughtful Head of the disinterested Patriot, or the dusty Brow of the victorious Warrior. Elevated by so sublime a Prize, the Man of Virtue looks down with Contempt on all the Allurements of Pleasure, and all the Menaces of Danger. Death itself loses its Terrors, when he considers, that its Dominion extends only over a Part of him, and that, in Spite of Death and Time, the Rage of the Elements,

ments, and the endless Vicissitude of human Affairs he is assur'd of an immortal Fame among all the Sons of Men.

THERE surely is a Being that presides over the Universe; and, with infinite Wisdom and Power, has reduc'd the jarring Elements into just Order and Proportion. Let speculative Reasoners dispute, how far this beneficent Being extends his Care of Virtue, and whether he prolongs our Existence to a future State, in order to bestow on it its just Reward, and render it fully triumphant. The Man of Virtue, without deciding any Thing on so dubious a Subject, is satisfy'd with that Portion which is mark'd out to him by the supreme Disposer of all Things. Gratefully he accepts of that farther Reward prepar'd for him; but if disappointed, he thinks not Virtue an empty Name; but justly esteeming it to be it's own Reward, he gratefully acknowledges the Bounty of his Creator, who by calling him forth into Existence, has thereby afforded him an Opportunity of once acquiring so invaluable a Possession.

ESSAY XX.

The PLATONIST *.

TO some Philosophers it appears Matter of Surprize, that all Mankind, possessing the same Nature, and being endow'd with the same Faculties, should yet differ so widely in their Pursuits and Inclinations, and that one should utterly condemn what is fondly sought after by another. To some it appears Matter of still more Surprize, that Man should differ so widely from himself at different Times; and, after Possession, reject with Disdain what, before, was the Object of all his Vows and Wishes. To me this feverish Uncertainty and Irresolution, in human Conduct, seems altogether unavoidable; nor can a rational Soul, made for the Contemplation of the supreme Being, and of his Works, ever enjoy Tranquillity or Satisfaction, while detain'd in the ignoble Pursuits of sensual Pleasure or popular Applause. The Divinity is a boundless Ocean of Bliss and Glory: Human Minds are smaller Streams, which, arising at first from this Ocean, seek still, amid all their Wanderings, to return to it, and to lose themselves in that

* Or, the Man of Contemplation and *Philosophical* Devotion.
Immen-

Immenſity of Perfection. When check'd in this natural Courſe, by Vice or Folly, they become furious and enrag'd; and, ſwelling to a Torrent, do then ſpread Horror and Devaſtation on the neighbouring Plains.

IN vain, by pompous Phraſe and paſſionate Expreſſions, does each recommend his own Purſuit, and invite the credulous Hearers to an Imitation of his Life and Manners. The Heart belies the Countenance, and ſenſibly feels, even amid the higheſt Succeſs, the unſatisfactory Nature of all thoſe Pleaſures, which detain it from it's true Object. I examine the voluptuous Man before Enjoyment; I meaſure the Vehemence of his Deſire, and the Importance of his Object; I find that all his Happineſs proceeds only from that Hurry of Thought which takes him from himſelf, and turns his View from his Guilt and Miſery. I conſider him a Moment after; he has now enjoy'd the Pleaſure, which he fondly fought after. The Senſe of his Guilt and Miſery returns upon him with doub'e Anguiſh: His Mind tormented with Fear and Remorſe; his Body depreſt with Diſguſt and Satiety.

BUT a more auguſt, at leaſt a more haughty Perſonage preſents himſelf boldly to our Censure; and, aſſuming the Title of a Philoſopher and Man of Morals, offers to ſubmit to the moſt rigid Examination. He challenges, with a viſible, tho' conceal'd Impatience, our Approbation and Applauſe; and ſeems offended, that we ſhould hesitate a Moment before we
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break out into Admiration of his Virtue. Seeing this Impatience, I hesitate still more: I begin to examine the Motives of his seeming Virtue: But behold! e'er I can enter upon this Enquiry, he flings himself from me; and addressing his Discourse to that Crowd of heedless Auditors, fondly abuses them by his magnificent Pretensions.

O PHILOSOPHER! thy Wisdom is vain, and thy Virtue unprofitable. Thou seekest the ignorant Applauses of Men, not the solid Reflections of thy own Conscience, or the more solid Approbation of that Being, who, with one Regard of his all-seeing Eye, penetrates the Universe. Thou surely art conscious of the Hollownefs of thy pretended Probity, whilst calling thyself a Citizen, a Son, a Friend, thou forgettest thy higher Sovereign, thy true Father, thy greatest Benefactor. Where is the Adoration due to such infinite Perfection, whence every Thing good and valuable is deriv'd? Where is the Gratitude, due to thy Creator, who call'd thee forth from nothing, who placed thee in all these Relations to thy Fellow-Creatures, and requiring thee to fulfil the Duty of each Relation, forbids thee to neglect what thou owest to himself, the most perfect Being, to whom thou art connected by the closest Tie?

BUT thou art thyself thy own Idol: Thou worshippest thy *imaginary* Perfections: Or rather, sensible of thy *real* Imperfections, thou seekest only to deceive the World, and to please thy Fancy, by multiplying thy ignorant Admirers. Thus not contented

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with neglecting what is most excellent in the Universe, thou desirest to substitute in his Place what is most vile and contemptible.

CONSIDER all the Works of Men's Hands; all the Inventions of human Wit, in which thou affectest so nice a Discernment: Thou wilt find, that the most perfect Production still proceeds from the most perfect Thought, and that 'tis MIND alone, which we admire, while we bestow our Applause on the Graces of a well-proportion'd Statue, or the Symmetry of a noble Pile. The Statuary, the Architect comes still in View, and makes us reflect on the Beauty of his Art and Contrivance, which, from a Heap of unform'd Matter, cou'd extract such Expressions and Proportions. This superior Beauty of Thought and Intelligence thou thyself acknowledgest, while thou invitest us to contemplate, in thy Conduct, the Harmony of Affections, the Dignity of Sentiments, and all those Graces of a Mind, which chiefly merit our Attention. But why stoppest thou short? Seest thou nothing farther that is valuable? Amid thy rapturous Applauses of Beauty and Order, art thou still ignorant where the most consummate Beauty, the most perfect Order, is to be found? Compare the Works of Art with those of Nature. The one are but an Imitation of the other. The nearer Art approaches to Nature, the more perfect is it esteem'd. But still, how wide are its nearest Approaches, and what an immense Interval may be observ'd betwixt them? Art copies only the outside of Nature, leaving the inward and more admirable Springs and Principles;

ples ; as exceeding her Imitation, as beyond her Comprehension. Art copies only the minute Productions of Nature, despairing to reach that Grandeur and Magnificence, which are so astonishing in the masterly Works of her Original. Can we then be so blind, as not to discover an Intelligence and a Design in the exquisite and most stupendous Contrivance of the Universe ? Can we be so stupid, as not to feel the warmest Raptures of Worship and Adoration, upon the Contemplation of that intelligent Being, so infinitely good and wise ?

THE most perfect Happiness, surely, must arise from the Contemplation of the most perfect Object. But what is more perfect than Beauty and Virtue ? And where is Beauty to be found equal to that of the Universe ? Or Virtue, which can be compar'd to the Benevolence and Justice of the Deity ? If aught can diminish the Pleasure of this Contemplation, it must be either the Narrowness of our Faculties, which conceals from us the greatest Part of these Beauties and Perfections ; or the Shortness of our Lives, which allows not Time sufficient to instruct us in them. But 'tis our Comfort, that if we imploy worthily the Faculties here assign'd us, they will be enlarg'd in another State of Existence, so as to render us more suitable Worshippers of our Maker : And that the Task, which can never be finished in Time, will be the Business of an Eternity.

ESSAY XXI.

The SCEPTIC.

I HAVE long entertain'd a great Suspicion, with regard to the Decisions of Philosophers upon all Subjects, and found in myself a greater Inclination to dispute, than assent to their Conclusions. There is one Mistake, to which they seem liable, almost without Exception; they confine too much their Principles, and make no Account of that vast Variety, which Nature has so much affected in all her Operations. When a Philosopher has once laid hold of a favourite Principle, which perhaps accounts for many natural Effects, he will extend the same Principle over the whole Creation, and reduce to it every Phænomenon, tho' by the most violent and absurd Reasoning. Our own Mind being narrow and contracted, we cannot extend our Conception to the Variety and Extent of Nature; but imagine, that she is as much bounded in her Operations, as we are in our Speculations.

BUT if ever this Infirmary of Philosophers is to be suspected on any Occasion, 'tis in their Reasonings concerning human Life, and the Methods of attaining Happiness. In that Case, they are led astray,

not

not only by the Narrowness of their Understandings, but also by that of their Passions. Almost every one has a predominant Inclination, to which all his other Desires and Affections submit, and which governs him, tho', perhaps, with some Intervals, thro' the whole Course of his Life. 'Tis difficult for him to apprehend, that any Thing which appears totally indifferent to him, can ever give Enjoyment to any Person, or can possess Charms, which altogether escape his Observation. His own Pursuits are always, in his Account, the most engaging: The Objects of his Passion, the most valuable: And the Road he pursues, the only one that leads to Happiness.

BUT wou'd these prejudic'd Reasoners reflect a Moment, there are many obvious Instances and Arguments, sufficient to undeceive them, and make them enlarge their Maxims and Principles. Do they not see the vast Variety of Inclinations and Pursuits among Mankind, where each seems fully satisfy'd with his own Course of Life, and wou'd esteem it the greatest Unhappiness to be confin'd to that of his Neighbour? Do they not feel in themselves, that what pleases at one Time, displeases at another, by the Change of Inclination; and that it is not in their Power, by their utmost Efforts, to recall that Taste or Appetite, which formerly bestowed Charms on what now appears indifferent or disagreeable? What is the Meaning therefore of those general Preferences of the Town or Country-Life, of a Life of Action or one of Pleasure, of Retirement or Society; when, besides the different Inclinations of different Men, every one's

Experience may convince him, that each of these Kinds of Life is agreeable in its Turn, and that their Variety or their judicious Mixture, does chiefly contribute to the rendering all of them agreeable.

BUT shall this Business be allow'd to go altogether at Adventures? And must a Man consult only his Humour and Inclination, in order to determine his Course of Life, without ever employing his Reason, to inform him what Road is preferable, and leads most surely to Happiness? Is there no Difference then betwixt one Man's Conduct and another?

I ANSWER, There is a great Difference. One Man, following his Inclinations, in chusing his Course of Life, may employ much surer Means for succeeding than another, who is led by his Inclination into the same Course of Life, and pursues the same Object. *Are Riches the chief Object of your Desires?* Acquire Skill in your Profession; be diligent in the Exercise of it; and enlarge the Circle of your Friends and Acquaintance; avoid Pleasure and Expence, and never be generous, but with a View of gaining more than you cou'd save by Frugality. *Wou'd you acquire the publick Esteem?* Guard equally against the Extremes of Arrogance and Fawning. Let it appear that you set a Value upon yourself, but without despising others. If you fall into either of the Extremes, you either provoke Men's Pride by your Insolence, or teach them to despise you by your timorous Submission, and by the mean Opinion you seem to entertain of yourself.

THESE

THESE, you say, are the Maxims of common Prudence and Discretion; what every Parent inculcates on his Child, and what every Man of Sense pursues in the Course of Life, which he has chosen to himself.—What is it then you desire more? Do you come to a Philosopher, as to a *cunning Man*, to learn something by Magic or Witchcraft, beyond what can be known by common Prudence and Discretion? —Yes; we come to a Philosopher to be instructed, How we shall chuse our Ends, more than the Means for attaining these Ends: We want to know, what Desires we shall satisfy, what Passions we shall comply with, what Appetites we shall indulge. As to the rest, we trust to common Sense, and the general Maxims of the World, for our Instruction.

I AM sorry, then, I have pretended to be a Philosopher: For I find your Questions very perplexing; and am in Danger, if my Answer be too rigid and severe, of passing for a Pedant and Scholastic; if it be too easy and free, of being taken for a Preacher of Vice and Immorality. However, to satisfy you, I shall deliver my Opinion upon the Matter, and only desire you to esteem it of as little Consequence as I do myself. By that Means you will neither think it worthy of your Ridicule nor your Anger.

IF we can depend upon any Principle, which we learn from Philosophy, this, I think, may be consider'd as certain and undoubted, That there is nothing, in itself, valuable or despicable, desirable or hate-

ful, beautiful or deformed ; but that these Attributes arise from the particular Constitution and Fabric of human Sentiments and Affections. What seems the most delicious Food to one Animal, appears loathsome to another : What affects the feeling of one with Delight, produces Uneasiness to another. This is confessedly the Case with Regard to all the bodily Senses : But if we examine the Matter more accurately, we shall find, that the same Observation holds even where the Mind concurs with the Body, and mingles its Sentiments with the exterior Appetites.

DESIRE this passionate Lover to give you a Character of his Mistress : He will tell you, that he is at a Loss for Words to describe her Charms, and will ask you very seriously, If ever you was acquainted with a Goddess or an Angel ? If you answer, that you never was : He will then say, That 'tis impossible for you to form a Conception of such divine Beauties as those his Charmer possesses ; so complete a Shape ; such proportion'd Features ; so engaging an Air ; such a Sweetness of Disposition ; such Gaiety of Humour. You can infer nothing, however, from all this Discourse, but that the poor Man is in Love ; and that the general Appetite betwixt the Sexes, which Nature has infus'd into all Animals, is in him determin'd to a particular Object by some Qualities, which gave him Pleasure. The same divine Creature, not only to a different Animal, but also to a different Man, appears a mere mortal Being, and is beheld with the utmost Indifference.

NATURE has given all Animals a like Prejudice in Favour of their Offspring. As soon as the helpless Infant sees the Light, tho' in every other Eye it appears a despicable and a miserable Creature, it is regarded by its fond Parents with the utmost Affection, and is prefer'd to every other Object, however perfect or accomplish'd. The Passion alone, arising from the Original Structure and Formation of human Nature, bestows a Value on the most insignificant Object.

WE may push the same Observation further, and may conclude, that even when the Mind operates alone, and feeling the Sentiments of Blame or Approbation, pronounces one Object to be deform'd and odious, another beautiful and amiable; I say, that even in that Case, these Qualities are not really in the Objects, but belong entirely to the Sentiments of that Mind which blames or praises. I grant, that it will be more difficult to make this Proposition evident, and as it were, palpable, to negligent Thinkers, because Nature is more uniform in the Sentiments of the Mind than in most Feelings of the Body, and produces a nearer Resemblance in the inward than in the outward Part of human Kind. There is something resembling Principles in mental Taste; and Critics can reason and dispute much more plausibly than Cooks or Perfumers. This Subject wou'd require a separate Examination. In the mean Time we may observe, That this Uniformity among human Kind hinders not, but that there is a

considerable Diversity in the Sentiments of Beauty and Worth, and that Education, Custom, Prejudice, Caprice, and Humour do frequently vary our Taste of this Kind. You will never convince a Man, who is not accusom'd to *Italian* Music, and has not an Ear to follow its Intricacies, that a *Scotch* Tune is not preferable. You have not even any single Argument, beyond your own Taste, which you can employ in your Behalf: And to your Adversary, his particular Taste will always appear a much more convincing Argument to the contrary. If you be wise, each of you will allow, that the other may be in the right; and having many other Instances of this Diversity of Taste, you will both confess, that Beauty and Worth are merely of a relative Nature, and consist in an agreeable Sentiment produc'd by an Object on a particular Mind, according to the peculiar Structure and Constitution of that Mind.

By this Diversity of Sentiment, observable in human Kind, Nature has, perhaps, intended to make us sensible of her Authority, and let us see what surprising Changes she cou'd produce on the Passions and Desires of Mankind, merely by the Change of their inward Fabric, without any Alteration on the Objects. The Vulgar may even be convinced by this Argument: But Men accusom'd to thinking may draw a more convincing, at least a more general Argument, from the very Nature of the Subject.

IN the Operation of Reasoning, the Mind does nothing but run over its Objects, as they are supposed

posed to stand in Reality, without adding any Thing to them, or diminishing any Thing from them. If I examine the *Ptolomæan* and *Copernican* Systems, I endeavour only, by my Enquiries, to know the real Situation of the Planets; that is, in other Words, I endeavour to give them, in my Mind or Conception, the same Relations as they bear towards each other in the Heavens. To this Operation of the Mind, therefore, there seems to be always a real, tho' often an unknown Standard, in the Nature of Things; nor is Truth or Falshood variable by the various Apprehensions of Mankind. Tho' all human Race shou'd for ever conclude, that the Sun moves, and the Earth remains at Rest, the Sun stirs not an Inch from his Place for all these Reasonings; and such Conclusions are eternally false and erroneous.

BUT the Case is not the same with the Qualities of *beautiful and deformed, desirable and odious*, as with Truth and Falshood. In the former Case, the Mind is not contented with merely surveying its Objects, as they stand in themselves: It also feels a Sentiment of Delight or Uneasiness, Approbation or Blame, consequent to that Survey; and this Sentiment determines it to pronounce the Object *beautiful or deformed, desirable or odious*. Now, 'tis evident, that this Sentiment must depend upon the particular Fabric or Structure of the Mind, which enables such particular Objects to operate in such a particular Manner, and produces a Sympathy or Conformity betwixt the Mind and the Objects. Vary the Structure of the Mind or inward Organs, the Sentiment no longer

follows, tho' the Objects remain the same. The Sentiment being different from the Object, and arising from its Operation upon the Organs of the Mind, an Alteration in either of these Particulars must vary the Effect, nor can the same Object, presented to a Mind totally different, produce the same Sentiment.

THIS Conclusion every one is apt to form of himself, without much Philosophy, where the Sentiment is evidently distinguishable from the Object. Who is not sensible, that Power, and Glory, and Vengeance, are not desirable of themselves, but derive all their Value from the Structure of human Passions, which begets a Desire for such particular Objects? But with regard to Beauty, either natural or moral, the Case is commonly suppos'd to be different. The agreeable Quality is thought to lie in the Object, not in the Sentiment; and that merely because the Sentiment is not so turbulent and violent as to distinguish itself, in an evident Manner, from the Perception of the Object.

BUT a very little Reflection suffices to distinguish them. A Man may know exactly all the Circles and Ellipses of the *Copernican* System, and all the irregular Spirals of the *Ptolomean*, without perceiving that the former is more beautiful than the latter. *Euclid* has very fully explain'd all the Qualities of the Circle, but has not, in any Proposition, said a Word of its Beauty. The Reason is evident. The Beauty is not a Quality of the Circle. It lies

not

not in any Part of the Line, *whose* Parts are all equally distant from a common Center. It is only the Effect, which that Figure operates upon the Mind, whose particular Fabric or Structure renders it susceptible of such Sentiments. In vain would you look for it in the Circle, or seek it, either by your Senses, or by Mathematical Reasonings, in all the Properties of that Figure.

THE Mathematician, who took no other Pleasure in reading *Virgil*, but that of examining *Eneas's* Voyage by the Map, might understand perfectly the Meaning of every *Latin* Word, imploy'd by that divine Author; and consequently, might have a distinct Idea of the whole Narration. He would even have a more distinct Idea of it, than they could have who had not study'd so exactly the Geography of the Poem. He knew, therefore, every thing in the Poem: But he was ignorant of its Beauty; because the Beauty, properly speaking, lies not in the Poem, but in the Sentiment or Taste of the Reader. And where a Man has no such Sensibility of Temper, as to make him feel this Sentiment, he must be ignorant of the Beauty, tho' he be possess'd of all the Science and Understanding of an Angel †.

THE

† Were I not afraid of appearing too philosophical, I would remind my Reader of that famous Doctrine, suppos'd to be fully prov'd in modern Times, *That Tastes and Colours, and all other sensible Qualities, lye not in the Bodies, but merely in the Senses.* The Case is the same with Beauty and Deformity, Virtue and Vice. This Doctrine, however, takes off no more from the
Reality

THE Inference from all this is, that it is not from the Value or Worth of the Object, which any Person pursues, that we can determine his Enjoyment, but merely from the Passion with which he pursues it, and the Success he meets with in his Pursuit. Objects have absolutely no Worth or Value in themselves. They derive their Worth merely from the Passion. If that be strong, and steady, and successful, the Person is happy. It cannot reasonably be doubted, but a little Miss, dress'd in a new Gown for a Dancing-School Ball, receives as compleat Enjoyment as the greatest Orator, who triumphs in the Splendor of his Eloquence, while he governs the Passions and Resolutions of a numerous Assembly.

ALL the Difference, therefore, betwixt one Man and another, with regard to Life, consists either in the *Passion*, or in the *Enjoyment*: And these Differences are sufficient to produce the wide Extremes of Happiness and Misery.

Reality of the latter Qualities, than from that of the former; nor need it give any Umbrage either to Critics or Moralists. Tho' Colours were allow'd to lye only in the Eye, would Dyers or Painters ever be less regarded or esteem'd? There is a sufficient Uniformity in the Senses and Feelings of Mankind, to make all these Qualities the Objects of Art and Reasoning, and to have the greatest Influence on Life and Manners. And 'tis certain, that the Discovery above-mentioned in natural Philosophy, makes no Alteration on Action and Conduct; Why should a like Discovery in moral Philosophy make any Alteration?

To be happy, the *Passions* must neither be too violent nor too remiss. In the first Case, the Mind is in a perpetual Hurry and Flustre ; in the second, it sinks into a disagreeable Indolence and Lethargy.

To be happy, the *Passions* must be benign and social ; not rough or fierce. The Affections of the latter Kind are not near so agreeable, to the Feeling, as those of the former. Who will compare Rancour and Animosity, Envy and Revenge, to Friendship, B benignity, Clemency and Gratitude ?

To be happy, the *Passions* must be chearful and gay, not gloomy and melancholy. A Propensity to Hope and Joy is real Riches : One to Fear and Sorrow, real Poverty.

SOME *Passions* or Inclinations, in the *Enjoyment* of their Object, are not so steady or constant as others, nor convey such a durable Pleasure and Satisfaction. *Philosophical Devotion*, for Instance, like the Enthusiasm of a Poet, is the transitory Effect of high Spirits, great Leisure, a fine Genius, and a Habit of Study and Contemplation : But notwithstanding all these Circumstances, an abstracted, invisible Object, like that which *natural Religion* alone presents to us, cannot long actuate the Mind, or be of any Moment in Life. To render the Passion of Continuance, we must find some Method of affecting the Senses and Imagination, and must embrace some *historical* as well as *philosophical* Accounts of the Divinity. Popular Superstitions and Observances are even found to be of Use in this Particular.

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THO' the Tempers of Men be very different, yet we may safely pronounce in general, that a Life of Pleasure cannot support itself so long as one of Business, but is much more subject to Satiety and Disgust. The Amusements, which are the most durable, have all a Mixture of Application and Attention in them ; such as Gaming and Hunting. And in general, Business and Action fill up all the great Vacancies of human Life.

BUT where the Temper is the best dispos'd for any *Enjoyment*, the Object is often wanting : And in this Respect, the Passions, which pursue *external* Objects, do not contribute so much to Happiness, as those which rest in ourselves ; since we are neither so certain of attaining such Objects, nor so secure of possessing them. A Passion for Learning is preferable, with regard to Happiness, to one for Riches.

SOME Men are posses'd of great Strength of Mind ; and even when they pursue *external* Objects, are not much affected by a Disappointment, but renew their Application and Industry with the greatest Chearfulness. Nothing contributes more to Happiness than this Turn of Mind.

ACCORDING to this short and imperfect Sketch of human Life, the happiest Disposition of Mind is the *virtuous* ; or, in other Words, that which leads to Action and Employment, renders us sensible to the social Passions, steels the Heart against the Assaults of

Fortune, reduces the Affections to a just Moderation, makes our own Thoughts an Entertainment to us, and inclines us rather to the Pleasures of Society and Conversation, than to those of the Senses. This, in the mean Time, must be obvious to the most careless Reasoner, that all Dispositions of Mind are not alike favourable to Happiness, and that one Passion or Humour may be extremely desirable, while another is equally hateful. And indeed, all the Difference betwixt the Conditions of Life depends upon the Mind ; nor is there any Situation of Affairs, in itself, preferable to another. Good and Ill, both natural and moral, are entirely relative to human Sentiments and Affections. No Man would ever be unhappy, could he alter his Feelings. *Proteus*-like, he would elude all Attacks, by the continual Alterations of his Shape and Form.

BUT this Resource Nature has, in a great Measure, depriv'd us of. The Fabric and Constitution of our Mind no more depends on our Choice, than that of our Body. The Generality of Men have not even the smallest Notion, that any Alteration in this Respect can ever be desirable. As a Stream necessarily follows the several Inclinations of the Ground, on which it runs ; so are the ignorant and thoughtless Part of Mankind actuated by their natural Propensities. Such are effectually excluded from all Pretensions to Philosophy, and the *Medicine of the Mind*, so much boasted. But even upon the wise and thoughtful, Nature has a prodigious Influence ; nor is it always in a Man's Power, by the utmost Art and Industry, to correct
his

his Temper, and attain that virtuous Character, to which he aspires. The Empire of Philosophy extends over a few : and with Regard to these too, her Authority is very weak and limited. Men may well be sensible of the Value of Virtue, and may desire to attain it ; but 'tis not always certain, that they will be successful in their Wishes.

WHOEVER considers, without Prejudice, the Course of human Actions, will find, that Men are almost entirely guided by Constitution and Temper, and that general Maxims have little Influence, but so far as they affect our Taste or Sentiment. If a Man have a lively Sense of Honour and Virtue, with moderate Passions, his Conduct will always be conformable to the Rules of Morality ; or if he depart from them, his Return will be easy and expeditious. But, on the other Hand, where one is born of so perverse a Frame of Mind, of so callous and insensible a Disposition, as to have no Relish for Virtue and Humanity, no Sympathy with his Fellow-Creatures, no Desire of Esteem and Applause ; such a one must be allow'd to be entirely incurable, nor is there any Remedy in Philosophy. He reaps no Satisfaction but from low and sensual Objects, or from the Indulgence of malignant Passions : He feels no Remorse to controul his vicious Inclinations : He has not even that Sense or Taste, which is requisite to make him desire a better Character : For my Part, I know not how I should address myself to such a one, or by what Arguments I should endeavour to reform him. Should I tell him of the inward Satisfaction that results from laudable and humane

mane Actions, the delicate Pleasures of disinterested Love and Friendship, the lasting Enjoyments of a good Name and an established Character ; he might still reply, that these were, perhaps, Pleasures to such as were susceptible of them ; but that, for his Part, he finds himself of a quite different Turn and Disposition. I must repeat it ; my Philosophy affords no Remedy in such a Case, nor could I do any thing but lament this Person's unhappy Condition. But then I ask, If any other Philosophy can afford a Remedy ; or if it be possible, by any System, to render all Mankind virtuous, however perverse may be their natural Frame of Mind ? Experience will soon convince us of the contrary ; and I will venture to affirm, that, perhaps, the chief Benefit, which results from Philosophy, arises in an indirect Manner. 'Tis certain, that a serious Application to the Sciences and liberal Arts, softens and humanizes the Temper, and cherishes those fine Emotions, in which true Virtue and Honour consists. It rarely, very rarely happens, that a Man of Taste and Learning is not, at least, an honest Man, whatever Frailties may attend him. The Bent of his Mind to speculative Studies must mortify in him the Passions of Interest and Ambition, and must, at the same Time, give him a greater Sensibility of all the Decencies and Duties of Life. He feels more fully a moral Distinction in Characters and Manners ; nor is his Sense of this Kind diminish'd, but, on the contrary, it is much encreas'd, by his Speculations.

BESIDES

BESIDES such insensible Changes upon the Temper and Disposition, 'tis highly probable, that others may be produc'd by Study and Application. The prodigious Effects of Education may convince us, that the Mind is not altogether stubborn and inflexible, but will admit of many Alterations from its original Make and Structure. Let a Man propose to himself the Model of a Character, which he approves of; let him be well acquainted with those Particulars, in which his own Character deviates from this Model: Let him keep a constant Watch over himself, and bend his Mind, by a continual Effort, from the Vices towards the Virtues; and I doubt not but, in Time, he will find, in his Temper, an Alteration to the better.

HABIT is another powerful Means of reforming the Mind, and implanting in it good Dispositions and Inclinations. A Man who continues for some Time in a Course of Sobriety and Temperance, will hate Riot and Disorder: If he engage himself in Business or Study, Indolence will seem a Punishment to him: If he constrain himself to practise Beneficence and Affability, he will soon abhor all Instances of Pride and Violence. Where one is thoroughly convinc'd, that the virtuous Course of Life is preferable; if he has but Resolution enough to impose a Violence on himself for some Time; his Reformation need not be despair'd of. The Misfortune is, that this Conviction and this Resolution never can have Place, unless a Man be, before-hand, tolerably virtuous.

HERE

HERE then is the utmost Triumph of Art and Philosophy: It insensibly refines the Temper, and it points out to us those Dispositions which we should endeavour to attain, by a constant *Bent* of Mind, and by repeated *Habit*. Beyond this I cannot acknowledge its Influence; and I must entertain great Doubts concerning all those Exhortations and Consolations, which are in such Vogue among all speculative Reasoners.

WE have already observ'd, that no Objects are, of themselves, desirable or odious, valuable or despicable; but that all Objects acquire these Qualities from the particular Character and Constitution of the Mind, which surveys them. To diminish therefore, or augment any Person's Value for an Object, to excite or moderate his Passions, there are no direct Arguments or Reasons, which can be employ'd with any Force or Influence. The catching Flies, like *Domitian*, if it give more Pleasure, is preferable to the hunting wild Beasts, like *William Rufus*, or conquering Kingdoms, like *Alexander*.

BUT tho' the Value of every Object can be determin'd only by the Sentiments or Passions of every Individual, we may observe, that the Passions, in pronouncing their Verdict, consider not the object simply, as it is in itself, but survey it with all the Circumstances that attend it. A Man transported with Joy, on Account of his possessing a Diamond, confines not his View to the glistening Stone before him:

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He also considers its Rarity, and from thence chiefly arises his Pleasure and Exultation. Here therefore a Philosopher may step in, and suggest particular Views and Considerations, and Circumstances, which otherwise would have escap'd us ; and, by that Means, he may either moderate or excite any particular Passion.

It may seem unreasonable absolutely to deny the Authority of Philosophy in this Respect : But it must be confess'd, that there lies this strong Presumption against it, that if these Views be natural and obvious, they would have occurred of themselves, without the Assistance of Philosophy ; if they be not natural, they never can have any Influence on the Affections. *These* are of a very delicate Nature, and cannot be forced or constrained by the utmost Art and Industry. A Consideration, which we seek for on Purpose, which we enter into with Difficulty, which we retain with Care and Attention, can never produce those genuine and durable Movements of Passion, which are the Result of Nature, and the Constitution of the Mind. A Man may as well pretend to cure himself of Love, by viewing his Mistress thro' the *artificial* Medium of a Microscope, or Prospect, and beholding there the Coarseness of her Skin, and monstrous Disproportion of her Features, as hope to excite or moderate any Passion by the *artificial* Arguments of a *Seneca* or an *Epictetus*. The Remembrance of the natural Aspect and Situation of the Objects will, in both Cases, still return upon him. The Reflections of Philosophy are too subtle and distant to take Place in common Life, or eradicate any Affection. The Air is too fine to breathe

breathe in, where it is above the Winds and Clouds of the Atmosphere.

Another Defect of those Reflections, which Philosophy presents to us, is, that commonly they cannot diminish or extinguish our vicious Passions, without diminishing or extinguishing such as are virtuous, and rendering the Mind totally indifferent and inactive. They are, for the most Part, general, and are applicable to all our Affections. In vain do we hope to direct their Influence only to one Side. If by incessant Study and Meditation we have rendered them very intimate and present to us, they will operate throughout, and spread an universal Insensibility over the Mind. When we destroy the Nerves, we extinguish the Sense of Pleasure, along with that of Pain.

It will be easy, by one Glance of the Eye, to find one or other of these Defects in most of those philosophical Reflections, so much celebrated both in ancient and modern Times. *Let not the Injuries or Violence of Men, say the Philosophers, ever discompose you by Anger or Hatred. Would you be angry at the Ape for its Malice, or the Tyger for its Ferocity?* This Reflection leads us into a bad Opinion of human Nature, and must extinguish the social Affections. It tends also to remove all Remorse for a Man's own Crimes, when he considers, that Vice is as natural to Mankind, as the particular Instincts to Brute-Creatures.

ALL Ills arise from the Order of the Universe, which is absolutely perfect. Would you wish to disturb

so divine an Order for the Sake of your own particular Interest. What if the Ills I suffer arise from Malice or Oppression? But the Vices and Imperfections of Men are also comprehended in the Order of the Universe.

If Plagues and Earthquakes break not Heav'n's Design, Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?

Let this be allow'd; and my own Vices will also be a Part of the same Order.

MAN is born to be miserable; and is he surpriz'd at any particular Misfortune? And can he give Way to Sorrow and Lamentation upon Account of any Disaster? Yes: He very reasonably laments, that he should be born to be miserable. Your Consolation presents a hundred Ills for one, that you pretend to ease him of.

YOU should always have before your Eyes Death, Disease, Poverty, Blindness, Exile, Calumny, and Infamy, as Ills which are incident to human Nature. When any of these Ills falls to your Lot, you will bear it the better that you have laid your Account with it. I answer, If we confine ourselves to a general and distant Reflection on the Ills of human Life, that can have no Effect to prepare us for them. If by close and intense Meditation we render them present and intimate to us, that is the true Secret to poison all our Pleasures, and render us perpetually miserable.

YOUR Sorrow is fruitless, and will not change the Course of Destiny. Very true: And for that very Reason I am sorry.

CICE-

CICERO's Consolation for Deafness is somewhat curious. *How many Languages are there*, says he, *which you do not understand? The Punic, Spanish, Gallic, Ægyptian, &c. With regard to all these, you are as if you were deaf, and yet you are indifferent about the Matter. Is it then so great a Misfortune to be deaf to one Language more *?*

I LIKE better the Repartee of *Antipater the Cynic*, when some Women were condoling with him for his Blindness. *What!* says he, *Do you think there are no Pleasures in the Dark?*

NOTHING can be more destructive, says *Fontenelle*, to Ambition, and the Passion for Conquests, than the true System of Astronomy. *What a poor Thing is even the whole Globe, in Comparison of the infinite Extent of Nature?* This Consideration is evidently too distant ever to have any Effect. And if it had any, would it not destroy Patriotism as well as Ambition? The same gallant Author adds with some Reason, that the bright Eyes of the Ladies are the only Objects, which lose nothing of their Lustre or Value from the most extensive Views of Astronomy and Philosophy, but stand Proof against every System. Would Philosophers advise us to limit our Affection to them?

THERE are only two Considerations to be met with in Books of Philosophy, from which any Effect is to be expected; and that because these two Considerations alone are drawn from common Life, and occur

* *Tusc. Quest. Lib. V.*

upon the most superficial View of human Affairs. When we consider the Shortness and Uncertainty of Life, how frivolous do all our Pursuits of Happiness appear? And even, if we wou'd extend our Concern beyond our own Life, how frivolous do our most enlarg'd and most generous Projects appear, when we consider the incessant Changes and Revolutions of human Affairs, by which Laws and Learning, Books and Governments are hurry'd away by Time, as by a rapid Stream, and are lost in the immense Ocean of Matter? Such a Reflection does certainly tend to mortify all our Passions: But does it not thereby counterwork the Artifice of Nature, who has happily deceiv'd us into an Opinion, that human Life is of some Importance? And may not such a Reflection be employ'd with Success by voluptuous Reasoners, to lead us from the Paths of Action and Virtue, into the flowery Fields of Indolence and Pleasure?

WE are inform'd by *Thucydides*, that, during the famous Plague of *Athens*, when Death seem'd present to every one's Eyes, a dissolute Mirth and Gaiety prevail'd among the People, who exhorted one another to make the most of Life as long as it endur'd. The same Principle makes Soldiers, during War, to be more addicted to Riot and Expence, than any other Race of Men: And 'tis observable, in this Kingdom, that long Peace, by producing Security, has much alter'd them in this Particular, and has quite remov'd our Officers from the generous Character of their Profession.

THE *second* Philosophical Consideration, which may often have an Influence on the Affections, is deriv'd from a Comparison of our own Condition with the Condition of others. This Comparison we are continually making, even in common Life; but the Misfortune is, that we are apt rather to compare our Situation with that of our Superiors, than with that of our Inferiors. A Philosopher corrects this natural Infirmary, by turning his View to the other Side, in order to render himself easy in the Situation wherein Fortune has plac'd him. There are few People, who are not susceptible of some Consolation from this Reflection; tho', to a very good-natur'd Man, the View of human Miseries shou'd rather produce Sorrow than Comfort, and add to his Lamentations for his own Misfortunes a deep Compassion for those of others. Such is the Imperfection, even of the best of these philosophical Topics of Consolation.

I SHALL conclude this Subject with observing, That tho' Virtue be undoubtedly the best Choice, when it is attainable; yet such is the Disorder and Confusion of human Affairs, that no perfect Oeconomy or regular Distribution of Happiness and Misery is ever, in this Life, to be expected. Not only the Goods of Fortune, and the Endowments of the Body, (both which are of great Importance) not only these Advantages, I say, are unequally divided betwixt the virtuous and vicious, but even the Mind itself partakes, in some Degree, of this Disorder, and the

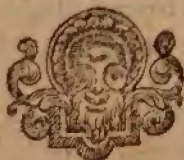
most worthy Character, by the very Oeconomy of the Passions, does not always enjoy the highest Felicity.

'Tis observable, that tho' every bodily Disease or Pain proceeds from some Disorder in the Parts, yet the Pain is not always proportion'd to the Disorder; but is greater or less, according to the greater or less Sensibility of the Part, upon which the noxious Humours exert their Influence. A *Tooth-ach* produces more violent Convulsions of Pain, than a *Phtisis*, or a *Dropsy*. In like Manner, with regard to the Constitution of the Mind, we may observe, that all Vice is indeed pernicious; but yet the Disturbance or Pain is not measured out by Nature with exact Proportion to the Degrees of Vice, nor is the Man of highest Virtue, even abstracting from external Accidents, always the most happy. A gloomy and melancholy Disposition is certainly, *to our Sentiments*, a Vice or Imperfection; but as it may be accompany'd with a great Sense of Honour and great Integrity, it may be found in very worthy Characters; tho' 'tis sufficient alone to imbitter Life, and render the Person affected with it compleatly miserable. On the other Hand, a selfish Villain may possess a Spring and Alacrity of Temper, a certain *Gaiety of Heart*, which is indeed a good Quality, but which is rewarded much beyond its Merit, and when attended with good Fortune, will compensate the Uneasiness and Remorse arising from all the other Vices.

I SHALL add, as an Observation to the same Purpose, that if a Man be liable to a Vice or Imperfection, it may often happen, that a good Quality, which he possesses along with it, will render him more miserable, than if he were compleatly vicious. A Person of such a Weakness and Imbecillity of Temper, as to be easily broke by Affliction, is more unhappy for being endow'd with a generous and friendly Disposition, which gives him a lively Concern for others, and exposes him the more to Fortune and Accidents. A Sense of Shame, in an imperfect Character, is certainly a Virtue, but produces great Uneasiness and Remorse, from which the abandon'd Villain is intirely free. A very amorous Complexion, with a Heart incapable of Friendship, is happier than the same Excess in Love, with a Generosity of Temper, which transports a Man beyond himself, and renders him a total Slave to the Object of his Passion.

IN a Word, Human Life is more govern'd by Fortune than by Reason; is to be regarded more as a dull Pastime than as a serious Occupation; and is more influenc'd by particular Humour than by general Principles. Shall we engage ourselves in it with Passion and Anxiety? It is not worthy of so much Concern. Shall we be indifferent about what happens? We lose all the Pleasure of the Game by our Phlegm and Carelessness. While we are reasoning concerning Life, Life is gone; and Death, tho' *perhaps* they receive him differently, yet treats alike the Fool and

the Philosopher. To reduce Life to exact Rule and Method, is commonly a painful, oft a fruitless Occupation: And is it not also a Proof, that we over-value the Prize we contend for? Even to reason so carefully concerning it, and to fix with Accuracy its just Idea, would be over-valuing it, were it not that, to some Tempers, this Occupation is one of the most amusing, in which Life cou'd possibly be employ'd.



ESSAY XXII.

Of POLYGAMY and DIVORCES.

AS Marriage is an Engagement enter'd into by mutual Consent, and, having for its End the Propagation of the Species, 'tis evident it must be susceptible of all the Variety of Conditions, which mutual Consent establishes, provided they be not contrary to this End.

A MAN, in conjoining himself to a Woman, is bound to her according to the Terms of his Engagement: In begetting Children, he is bound, by all the Laws of Nature and Humanity, to provide for their Subsistence and Education. When he has perform'd these two Parts of his Duty, no Being can reproach him with Injustice or Injury. And as the Terms of his Engagement, as well as the Methods of subsisting his Offspring, may be very various, 'tis mere Superstition to imagine, that Marriage can be intirely uniform, and will admit only of one Mode or Form. Did not human Laws restrain the natural Liberty of Men, every particular Marriage wou'd be as different from one another, as Contracts or Bargains of any other Kind or Species.

As Circumstances vary, and the Laws propose different Advantages, we find, that, in different Times and Places, they impose different Conditions on this important Contract. In *Tonquin* 'tis usual for the Sailors, when the Ships come into the Harbour, to marry for the Season; and, notwithstanding this precarious Engagement, they are assured of the strictest Fidelity to their Bed, as well as in the whole Management of their Affairs, from those temporary Spouses.

I CANNOT, at present, recollect my Authorities; but I have somewhere read, That the Republic of *Athens*, having lost many of its Citizens by War and Pestilence, allow'd every Man to marry two Wives, in order the sooner to repair the Waste which had been made by these Calamities. The Poet *Euripides* happen'd to be coupled to two ugly Vixons, who so plagu'd him with their Jealousies and Quarrels, that he became ever after a profest *Woman-bater*; and is the only theatrical Writer, perhaps the only Poet, that ever entertain'd an Aversion against the whole Sex.

IN that agreeable Romance, call'd *the History of the Serampians*, where a great many Men and a few Women are suppos'd to be shipwreck'd on a desert Coast; the Captain of the Troop, in order to obviate those endless Quarrels that arose, regulates their Marriages after the following Manner: He takes a handsome Female to himself alone; assigns one to every couple of inferior Officers; and to five of the lowest Rank he gives one Wife in common. Cou'd the
greatest

greatest Legislator, in such Circumstances, have contriv'd Matters with greater Wisdom?

THE ancient *Britons* had a very singular Kind of Marriage, which is to be met with among no other People. Any Number of them, as ten or a dozen, join'd in a Society together, which was perhaps requisite for mutual Defence in those barbarous Times. In order to link this Society the closer, they took an equal Number of Wives in common, and whatever Children were born, were reputed to belong to all of them, and were accordingly provided for by the whole Community.

Among the inferior Creatures, Nature herself, being the supreme Legislator, prescribes all the Laws which regulate their Marriages, and varies those Laws according to the different Circumstances of the Creature. Where she furnishes, with Ease, Food and Defence to the new-born Animal, the present Embrace terminates the Marriage; and the Care of the Offspring is committed intirely to the Female. Where the Food is of more difficult Purchase, the Marriage continues for one Season, till the common Progeny can provide for itself; and then the Link immediately dissolves, and leaves each of the Parties free to enter into a new Engagement at the ensuing Season. But Nature having endow'd Man with Reason, has not so exactly regulated every Article of his Marriage-Contract, but has left him to adjust them, by his own Prudence, according to his particular Circumstances and Situation. Municipal Laws are a Supply to the

Wisdom of each Individual ; and, at the same Time, by restraining the natural Liberty of Men, make the private Interest submit to the Interest of the Public. All Regulations, therefore, on this Head are equally lawful, and equally conformable to the Principles of Nature ; tho' they are not all equally convenient, or equally useful to Society. The Laws may allow of Polygamy, as among the *Eastern Nations* ; or of voluntary Divorces, as among the *Greeks* and *Romans* ; or they may confine one Man to one Woman, during the whole Course of their Lives, as among the modern *Europeans*. It may not be disagreeable to consider the Advantages and Disadvantages of each of these Institutions.

THE Advocates for Polygamy may recommend it as the only effectual Remedy for the Furies and Disorders of Love, and the only Expedient for freeing Men from that Slavery to the Females, which the natural Violence of our Passions has impos'd on us. By this Means alone can we regain our Right of Sovereignty ; and, by satiating our Appetite, re-establish the Authority of Reason in our Minds, and, of Consequence, our own Authority in our Families. Man, like a weak Sovereign, being unable to support himself against the Wiles and Intrigues of his Subjects, must play one Faction against another, and become absolute by the mutual jealousies of the Females. *To divide and to govern* is an universal Maxim ; and, by neglecting it, the *Europeans* undergo a more grievous and a more ignominious Slavery than the *Turks* or *Persians*, who are subjected indeed to a Sovereign, that

that lies at a Distance from them, but in their domestic Affairs rule with an uncontrollable Sway. An honest *Turk*, who should come from his Seraglio, where every one trembles before him, wou'd be surpriz'd to see *Sylvia* in her drawing Room, ador'd by all the Beaus and pretty Fellows about Town, and he wou'd certainly take her for some mighty and despotic Queen, furrounded by her Guard of obsequious Slaves and Eunuchs.

ON the other Hand, it may be urg'd with better Reason, That this Sovereignty of the Man is a real Usurpation, and destroys that Nearness, not to say Equality of Rank, which Nature has establish'd betwixt the Sexes. We are, by Nature, their Lovers, their Friends, their Patrons: Wou'd we willingly change such endearing Appellations for the barbarous Titles of Master and Tyrant?

IN what Capacity shall we gain by this inhuman Proceeding? As Lovers, or as Husbands? The *Lover* is totally annihilated; and Courtship, the most agreeable Scene in human Life, can no longer have Place, where Women have not the free Disposál of themselves, but are bought and sold, like the meanest Animals. The *Husband* is as little a Gainer, having found the admirable Secret of distinguishing every Part of Love, except its Jealousy. There is no Rose without its Thorn; but he must be a foolish Wretch indeed, who throws away the Rose, and preserves only the Thorn.

I wou'd not willingly insist upon it as an Advantage in our *European* Customs, what was observ'd by *Mehemet Effendi* the last *Turkish* Ambassador in *France*. *We Turks*, says he, *are great Simpletons in Comparison of the Christians. We are at the Expence and Trouble of keeping a Seraglio, each in his own House: But you ease yourselves of this Burden, and have your Seraglio in your Friends Houses.* The known Virtue of our *British* Ladies frees them sufficiently from this Imputation: And the *Turk* himself, however great a *Turk*, must own, that our free Commerce with the Fair-Sex, more than any other Invention, embellishes, enlivens, and polishes Society.

BUT the *Asiatic* Manners are as destructive to Friendship as to Love. Jealousy excludes Men from all Intimacies and Familiarities. No Man dares bring his Friend to his House or Table, lest he bring a Lover to his numerous Wives. Hence all over the East, each Family is as separate from another, as if they were so many distinct Kingdoms. No Wonder then, that *Solemon*, living like an Eastern Prince, with his seven hundred Wives, and three hundred Concubines, without one Friend, cou'd write so pathetically concerning the Vanity of the World. Had he try'd the Secret of one Wife or Mistress, a few Friends, and a great many Companions, he might have found Life somewhat more agreeable. Destroy Love and Friendship, what does there remain in the World worth accepting?

TO render Polygamy more odious, I need not recount the frightful Effects of Jealousy, and the Constraint

straint in which it holds the Fair-Sex all over the East. In those Countries Men are not allow'd to have any Commerce with the Females, not even Physicians, when Sickness may be suppos'd to have extinguish'd all wanton Passions in the Bosoms of the Fair, and, at the same Time, has render'd them unfit Objects of Desire. *Tournefort* tells us, That when he was brought into the *Grand Signior's* Seraglio as a Physician, he was not a little surpriz'd, in looking along a Gallery, to see a great Number of naked Arms, standing out from the Sides of the Room. He cou'd not imagine what this cou'd mean; 'till he was told, that those Arms belong'd to Bodies, which he must cure, without knowing any more about them, than what he cou'd learn from the Arms: He was not allow'd to ask a Question of the Patient, or even of her Attendants, lest he might find it necessary to enquire concerning Circumstances, which the Delicacy of the Seraglio allows not to be reveal'd. Hence the Physicians in the Eastern Countries pretend to know all Diseases from the Pulse; as our Quacks in *Europe* undertake to cure a Person merely from seeing his Water. I suppose, had *Monsieur Tournefort* been of this latter Kind, he would not, in *Constantinople*, have been allow'd by the jealous *Turks* to be furnish'd with Materials requisite for exercising his Art.

IN another Country, where Polygamy is also allow'd, they render their Wives Cripples, and make their Feet of no use to them, in order to confine them to their own Houses. But it will, perhaps, surprize the Reader to hear, that in an *European* Country, where

Polygamy

Polygamy is not allow'd, Jealousy can yet be carry'd to such a Height, that 'tis indecent so much as to suppose a Woman of Rank can have Feet or Legs. A *Spaniard* is jealous of the very Thoughts of those who approach his Wife; and, if possible, will prevent his being dishonour'd, even by the Wantonneſs of Imagination. Witness the following Story, which we have from very good Authority*. When the Mother of the late King of *Spain* was on her Road towards *Madrid*, she paſt thro' a little Town in *Spain*, famous for its Manufactory of Gloves and Stockings. The honest Magiſtrates of the Place thought they could not better expreſs their Joy, for the Reception of their new Queen, than by preſenting her with a Sample of thoſe Commodities, for which alone their Town was remarkable. The *Major-Domo* who conducted the Queen, receiv'd the Gloves very graciously: But when the Stockings were preſented, he flung them away with great Indignation, and ſeverely reprimanded the Magiſtrates for this egregious Piece of Indecency. *Know*, ſays he, *That a Queen of Spain has no Legs*. The poor young Queen, who, at that Time, underſtood the Language but very imperfectly, and had been often frighten'd with Stories of *Spaniſh* Jealousy, imagin'd they were to cut off her Legs. Upon which ſhe fell a crying, and begg'd them to conduct her back to *Germany*; for that ſhe never could endure that Operation: And it was with ſome Difficulty they could appeaſe her. *Philip IV.* is ſaid never in his Life to have laugh'd heartily, but at the Recital of this Story.

* *Memoires de la cour d'Eſpagne par Madame d'Annoy.*

IF a *Spanish* Lady must not be suppos'd to have Legs, what must be suppos'd of a *Turkish* Lady? She must not be suppos'd to have a Being at all. Accordingly, 'tis esteem'd a Piece of Rudeness and Indecency at *Constantinople*, ever to make mention of a Man's Wives before him *. In *Europe*, 'tis true, fine bred People make it also a Rule never to talk of their Wives: But the Reason is not founded on our Jealousy. I suppose it is because we should be apt, were it not for this Rule, to become troublesome to Company, by talking too much of them.

THE President *Montesquieu* has given a different Reason for this polite Maxim, *Men*, says he, *never care to mention their Wives in Company, lest they should talk of them before People, that know them better than they do themselves.*

HAVING rejected Polygamy, and match'd one Man with one Woman, let us now consider what Duration we shall assign to their Union, and whether we shall admit of those voluntary Divorces, which were in Use among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. They who would defend this Practice, may imploy the following Reasons.

How often does Disgust and Aversion arise after Marriage, from the most trivial Accidents, or from an Incompatibility of Humour; where Time, instead of curing the Wounds proceeding from mutual Injuries, does every Day fester them the more, by new

* *Memoires de Marquis d'Argens.*

Quarrels and Reproaches? Let us separate Hearts; which are not made for each other. Each of them may, perhaps, find another, for which it is better fitted. At least, nothing can be more cruel, than to preserve, by Violence, an Union, which, at first, was made by mutual Love, and is now, in Effect, dissolv'd by mutual Hatred.

BUT the Liberty of Divorces is not only a Cure to Hatred and domestic Quarrels: It is also an admirable Preservative against them, and the only Secret for keeping alive that Love, which first united the marry'd Couple. The Heart of Man delights in Liberty: The very Image of Constraint is grievous to it: When you wou'd confine it by Violence, to what wou'd otherwise have been its Choice, its Inclination immediately changes, and Desire is turn'd into Aversion. If the public Interest will not allow us to enjoy in Polygamy that *Variety*, which is so agreeable in Love, deprive us not at least of that Liberty, which is so essentially requisite. In vain you tell me, that I had my Choice of the Person, with whom I would conjoin myself. I had my Choice, 'tis true, of my Prison; but this is but a small Comfort, since it must still be a Prison.

SUCH are the Arguments, which may be urged in Favour of Divorces: But there seem to be these three unanswerable Objections against them; *First*, What must become of the Children, upon the Separation of the Parents? Must they be committed to the Care of a Stepmother; and, instead of the fond Care and Concern

Concern of a Mother, feel all the Indifference or Hatred of a Stranger or an Enemy? These Inconveniencies are sufficiently felt, where Nature has made the Divorce by the Doom inevitable to all Mortals: And shall we seek to multiply these Inconveniencies, by multiplying Divorces, and putting it in the Power of Parents, upon every Caprice, to render their Posterity miserable?

Secondly, IF it be true, on the one Hand, that the Heart of Man naturally delights in Liberty, and hates every thing to which it is confin'd; 'tis also true, on the other Hand, that the Heart of Man naturally submits to Necessity, and soon loses an Inclination when there appears an absolute Impossibility of satisfying it. These Principles of human Nature, you'll say, are contradictory: But what is Man but a Heap of Contradictions? Tho' 'tis remarkable, that where Principles are, after this Manner, contrary in their Operation, they do not always destroy each other; but the one or the other may predominate on any particular Occasion, according as Circumstances are more or less favourable to it. For Instance, Love is a restless and impatient Passion, full of Caprice and Variations; arising in a Moment from a Feature, from an Air, from nothing, and suddenly extinguishing after the same Manner. Such a Passion requires Liberty above all Things; and therefore *Eloisa* had Reason, when, in order to preserve this Passion, she refus'd to marry her belov'd *Abelard*.

*How oft, when prest to Marriage, have I said,
Curse on all Laws, but those which Love has made.*

Love,

*Leave, free as Air, at Sight of human Ties,
Spreads his light Wing, and in a Moment flies.*

But *Friendship* is a calm and sedate Affection, conducted by Reason, and cemented by Habit; springing from long Acquaintance and mutual Obligations; without Jealousies or Fears, and without those feverish Fits of Heat and Cold, which cause such an agreeable Torment in the amorous Passion. So sober an Affection, therefore, as Friendship, rather thrives under Constraint, and never rises to such a Height, as when any strong Interest or Necessity binds two Persons together, and gives them some common Object of Pursuit. Let us consider then, whether Love or Friendship should most predominate in Marriage; and we shall soon determine whether Liberty or Constraint be most favourable to it. The happiest Marriages, to be sure, are found where Love, by long Acquaintance, is consolidated into Friendship. Whoever dreams of Raptures and Extasies beyond the Honeymoon, is a Fool. Even Romances themselves, with all their Liberty of Fiction, are oblig'd to drop their Lovers the very Day of their Marriage, and find it easier to support the Passion for a dozen of Years under Coldness, Disdain and Difficulties, than a Week under Possession and Security. We need not, therefore, be afraid of drawing the Marriage-knot the closest possible. The Friendship betwixt the Persons, where it is solid and sincere, will rather gain by it: And where it is wavering and uncertain, this is the best Expedient for fixing it. How many frivolous Quarrels and Disgusts are there, which People of common Prudence endeavour to forget, when they
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lye under the Necessity of passing their Lives together ; but which would soon inflame into the most deadly Hatred, were they pursu'd to the utmost, under the Prospect of an easy Separation ?

IN the *third* Place, we must consider, that nothing is more dangerous than to unite two Persons so close in all their Interests and Concerns, as Man and Wife, without rendering the Union intire and total. The least Possibility of a separate Interest must be the Source of endless Quarrels and Jealousies. What Dr. Parnel calls,

The little pilfering Temper of a Wife,
will be doubly ruinous ; and the Husband's Selfishness, being accompany'd with more Power, may be still more dangerous.

SHOULD these Reasons against voluntary Divorces be esteem'd insufficient, I hope no Body will pretend to refuse the Testimony of Experience. At the Time that Divorces were most frequent among the *Romans*, Marriages were most rare ; and *Augustus* was oblig'd, by penal Laws, to force the Men of Fashion of *Rome* into the married State : A Circumstance which is scarce to be found in any other Age or Nation.

The Exclusion of Polygamy and Divorces sufficiently recommends our present *European* Practice, with Regard to Marriage.

ESSAY XXIII.

Of SIMPLICITY and REFINEMENT in Writing.

FINE Writing, according to Mr. *Addison*, consists of Sentiments, which are natural, without being obvious. There cannot be a juster, and more concise Definition of fine Writing.

SENTIMENTS, which are merely natural, affect not the Mind with any Pleasure, and seem not worthy to engage our Attention. The Pleasantries of a Waterman, the Observations of a Peasant, the Ribaldry of a Porter or Hackney Coachman; all these are natural, and disagreeable. What an insipid Comedy should we make of the Chit-chat of the Tea-table, copy'd faithfully and at full Length? Nothing can please Persons of Taste, but Nature drawn with all her Graces and Ornaments, *la belle nature*; or if we copy low Life, the Strokes must be strong and remarkable, and must convey a lively Image to the Mind. The absurd † Naivety of *Sancho Pancho* is represented

† A Word which I have borrow'd from the *French*, and which is much wanted in our Language.

in such inimitable Colours by *Cervantes*, that it entertains as much as the Picture of the most magnanimous Hero or softest Lover.

THE Case is the same with Orators, Philosophers, Critics, or any Author, who speaks in his own Person, without introducing other Speakers or Actors. If his Language be not elegant, his Observations uncommon, his Sense strong and masculine, he will in vain boast his Nature and Simplicity. He may be correct; but he never will be agreeable. 'Tis the Unhappiness of such Authors, that they are never blam'd nor censur'd. The good Fortune of a Book, and that of a Man, are not the same. The secret deceiving Path of Life, which *Horace* talks of, *fallentis semita vite*, may be the happiest Lot of the one; but is the greatest Misfortune that the other can possibly fall into.

ON the other Hand, Productions, which are merely surprising, without being natural, can never give any lasting Entertainment to the Mind. To draw Chimeras is not, properly speaking, to copy or imitate. The Justness of the Representation is lost, and the Mind is displeased to find a Picture, which bears no Resemblance to any Original. Nor are such excessive Refinements more agreeable in the epistolary or philosophic Stile than in the Epic or Tragic. Too much Ornament is a Fault in every Kind of Production. Uncommon Expressions, strong Flashes of Wit, pointed Similies, and epigrammatic Turns, especially when laid too thick, are a Disfigurement rather than any Embellishment of Discourse. As the Eye,

in

in surveying a *Gothic* Building, is distracted by the Multiplicity of Ornaments, and loses the whole by its minute Attention to the Parts ; so the Mind, in perusing a Work over-stock'd with Wit, is fatigu'd and disgusted with the constant Endeavour to shine and surprize. This is the Case where a Writer over-abounds in Wit, even tho' that Wit, in itself, should be just and agreeable. But it commonly happens to such Writers, that they seek for their favourite Ornaments, even where the Subject affords them not ; and by that Means, have twenty insipid Conceits for one Thought that is really beautiful.

THERE is no Subject in critical Learning more copious than this of the just Mixture of Simplicity and Refinement in Writing ; and therefore, not to wander in too large a Field, I shall confine myself to a few general Observations on that Head.

First, I observe, *That tho' Excesses of both Kinds are to be avoided, and tho' a proper Medium ought to be study'd in all Productions ; yet this Medium lies not in a Point, but admits of a very considerable Latitude.* Consider the wide Distance, in this Respect, betwixt Mr. *Pope* and *Lucretius*. These seem to lye in the two greatest Extremes of Refinement and Simplicity, which a Poet can indulge himself in, without being guilty of any blameable Excess. All this Interval may be fill'd with Poets, who may differ from each other, but may be equally admirable, each in his peculiar Style and Manner. *Corneille* and *Congreve*, who carry their Wit and Refinement somewhat farther than Mr.

Pope

Pope (if Poets of so different a Kind can be compar'd together) and *Sophocles* and *Terence*, who are more simple than *Lucretius*, seem to have gone out of that Medium, wherein the most perfect Productions are to be found, and are guilty of some Excess in these opposite Characters. Of all the great Poets, *Virgil* and *Racine*, in my Opinion, lye nearest the Center, and are the farthest remov'd from both the Extremities.

My second Observation on this Head is, That it is very difficult, if not impossible, to explain, by Words, wherein the just Medium betwixt the Excesses of Simplicity and Refinement consists, or to give any Rule, by which we can know precisely the Bounds betwixt the Fault and the Beauty. A Critic may not only discourse very judiciously on this Head, without instructing his Readers, but even without understanding the Matter perfectly himself. There is not in the World a finer Piece of Criticism than *Foxtenelle's Dissertation on Pastorals*; wherein, by a Number of Reflections and philosophical Reasonings, he endeavours to fix the just Medium, which is suitable to that Species of Writing. But let any one read the Pastorals of that Author, and he will be convinc'd, that this judicious Critic, notwithstanding his fine Reasonings, had a false Taste, and fix'd the Point of Perfection much nearer the Extreme of Refinement, than pastoral Poetry will admit of. The Sentiments of his Shepherds are better suited to the Toilettes of *Paris*, than to the Forests of *Arcadia*. But this it is impossible to discover from his critical Reasonings.

He blames all excessive Painting and Ornament as much as *Virgil* could have done, had *he* wrote a Dissertation on this Species of Poetry. However different the Tastes of Men may be, their general Discourses on these Subjects are commonly the same. No Criticism can be very instructive, which descends not to Particulars, and is not full of Examples and Illustrations. 'Tis allow'd on all Hands, that Beauty, as well as Virtue, lies always in a Medium; but where this Medium is plac'd, is the great Question, and can never be sufficiently explain'd by general Reasonings.

I SHALL deliver it as a *third* Observation on this Subject, *that we ought to be more on our Guard against the Excess of Refinement than that of Simplicity; and that because the former Excess is both less beautiful, and more dangerous than the latter.*

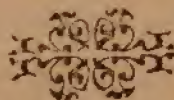
'Tis a certain Rule, that Wit and Passion are entirely inconsistent. When the Affections are mov'd, there is no Place for the Imagination. The Mind of Man being naturally limited, 'tis impossible all its Faculties can operate at once: And the more any one predominates, the less Room is there for the others to exert their Vigour. For this Reason, a greater Degree of Simplicity is requir'd in all Compositions, where Men, and Actions, and Passions are painted, than in such as consist of Reflections and Observations. And as the former Species of Writing is the more engaging and beautiful, one may safely, upon this Account, give the Preference to the Extreme of Simplicity above that of Refinement.

WE may also observe, that those Compositions, which we read the oftenest, and which every Man of Taste has got by Heart, have the Recommendation of Simplicity, and have nothing surprizing in the Thought, when divested of that Elegance of Expression, and Harmony of Numbers, with which it is cloth'd. If the Merit of the Composition lyes in a Point of Wit; it may strike at first; but the Mind anticipates the Thought in the second Perusal, and is no longer affected by it. When I read an Epigram of *Martial*, the first Line recalls the Whole; and I have no Pleasure in repeating to myself what I know already. But each Line, each Word in *Catullus* has its Merit; and I am never tir'd with the Perusal of him. 'Tis sufficient to run over *Cowley* once: But *Parnel*, after the fiftieth Reading, is as fresh as at the first. Besides, 'tis with Books, as with Women, where a certain Plainness of Manner and of Dress is more engaging than that Glare of Paint and Airs and Apparel, which may dazzle the Eye, but reaches not the Affections. *Terence* is a modest and bashful Beauty, to whom we grant every thing, because he assumes nothing, and whose Purity and Nature make a durable, tho' not a violent, Impression upon us.

But Refinement, as it is the less *beautiful*, so it is the more *dangerous* Extreme, and what we are the aptest to fall into. Simplicity passes for Dulness, when it is not accompany'd with great Elegance and Propriety. On the contrary, there is something surprizing in a Blaze of Wit and Conceit. Ordinary

Readers are mightily struck with it, and falsely imagine it to be the most difficult, as well as most excellent Way of Writing. *Seneca* abounds with agreeable Faults, says *Quintilian*, *abundat dulcibus vitiis*; and for that Reason is the more dangerous, and the more apt to pervert the Taste of the young and inconsiderate.

I SHALL add, that the Excess of Refinement is now more to be guarded against than ever; because 'tis the Extreme, which Men are the most apt to fall into, after Learning has made great Progress, and after eminent Writers have appear'd in every Species of Composition. The Endeavour to please by Novelty, leads Men wide of Simplicity and Nature, and fills their Writings with Affectation and Conceit. 'Twas thus the Age of *Claudius* and *Nero* became so much inferior to that of *Augustus* in Taste and Genius: And perhaps there are, at present, some Symptoms of a like Degeneracy of Taste, in *France* as well as in *England*.



* ESSAY XXIV.

Of NATIONAL CHARACTERS.

THE Vulgar are very apt to carry all *national Characters* to Extremes; and having once establish'd it as a Principle, that any People are knavish, or cowardly, or ignorant, they will admit of no Exception, but comprehend every Individual under the same Character. Men of Sense condemn these undistinguish'd Judgments; tho' at the same Time, they allow, that each Nation has a peculiar Set of Manners, and that some particular Qualities are more frequently to be met with among one People than among their Neighbours. The common People in *Switzerland* have surely more Probity than those of the same Rank in *Ireland*; and every prudent Man will, from that Circumstance alone, make a Difference in the Trust he reposes in them. We have Reason to expect greater Wit and Gaiety in a *Frenchman* than in a *Spaniard*; tho' *Cervantes* was born in *Spain*. An *Englishman* will naturally be supposed to have more Knowledge than a *Dane*; tho' *Tycho Brahe* was a Native of *Denmark*. Different Reasons are assign'd

* The three following Essays are added to this Edition.

for these *national Characters* ; while some account for them from *moral* and others from *physical* Causes. By *moral* Causes, I mean all Circumstances, which are fitted to work on the Mind as Motives or Reasons, and which render a peculiar Set of Manners habitual to us. Of this Kind are, the Nature of the Government, the Revolutions of public Affairs, the Plenty or Penury in which the People live, the Situation of the Nation with Regard to its Neighbours, and such like Circumstances. By *physical* Causes, I here mean those Qualities of the Air and Climate, which are supposed to work insensibly on the Temper, by altering the Tone and Habit of the Body, and giving a particular Complexion, which, tho' Reflection and Reason may sometimes overcome, yet will it prevail among the Generality of Mankind, and have an Influence on their Manners.

THAT the Character of a Nation will very much depend on *moral* Causes must be evident to the most superficial Observer ; since a Nation is nothing but a Collection of Individuals, and the Manners of Individuals are frequently determined by these Causes. As Poverty and hard Labour debase the Minds of the common People, and render them unfit for any Science and ingenious Profession ; so where any Government becomes very oppressive to all its Subjects, it must have a proportional Effect on their Temper and Genius, and must banish all the liberal Arts from amongst them. Instances of this Nature are very frequent in the World.

THE same Principle of moral Causes fixes the Character of different Professions, and alters even that Disposition, which the particular Members receive from the Hand of Nature. A Soldier and a Priest are different Characters, in all Nations, and all Ages; and this Difference is founded on Circumstances, whose Operation is eternal and unalterable.

THE Uncertainty of their Life makes Soldiers lavish and generous as well as brave: Their Idleness as well as the large Societies, which they form in Camps or Garrisons, incline them to Pleasure and Gallantry: By their frequent Change of Company, they acquire good Breeding and an Openness of Behaviour: Being employ'd only against a public and an open Enemy, they become candid, honest, and undefigning: And as they use more the Labour of the Body than that of the Mind, they are commonly thoughtless and ignorant †.

'Tis a trite, but not altogether a false Maxim, that *Priests of all Religions are the same*; and tho' the

† 'Tis a Saying of *Minander*, Κομψὸς στρατιώτης, εἴδ' ἀνείπλάττει θεὸς οὐθεὶς γένοιτ' ἄν. *Men. apud. Stobæum.* 'Tis not in the Power even of God to make a polite Soldier. The contrary Observation with regard to the Manners of Soldiers takes Place in our Days. This seems to me a Presumption, that the Ancients ow'd all their Refinement and Civility to Books and Study; for which, indeed, a Soldier's Life is not so well qualified. Company and the World is their Sphere. And if there be any Politeness to be learned from Company, they will certainly have the most considerable Share of it.

Character of the Profession will not, in every Instance, prevail over the personal Character, yet it is sure always to predominate with the greater Number. For as Chymists observe, that Spirits, when rais'd to a certain Height, are all the same, from whatever Materials they be extracted; so these Men, being elevated above Humanity, acquire a uniform Character, which is entirely their own, and which, in my Opinion, is, generally speaking, not the most amiable, that is to be met with in human Society. It is, in most Points, opposite to that of a Soldier; as is the Way of Life, from which it is deriv'd †.

As

† Tho' all Mankind have a strong Propensity to Religion at certain Times and in certain Dispositions; yet are there few or none, who have it to that Degree, and with that Constancy, which is requisite to support the Character of this Profession. It must, therefore, happen, that Clergymen, being drawn from the common Mafs of Mankind, as People are to other Employments, by the Views of Profit, the greatest Part, tho' no Atheists or Freethinkers, will find it necessary, on particular Occasions, to feign more Devotion than they are, at that Time, possess of, and to maintain the Appearance of Fervour and Seriousness, even when jaded with the Exercises of their Religion, or when they have their Minds engag'd in the common Occupations of Life. They must not, like the rest of the World, give Scope to their natural Movements and Sentiments: They must set a Guard over their Looks and Words and Actions: And in order to support the Veneration paid them by the ignorant Vulgar, they must not only keep a remarkable Reserve, but must promote the Spirit of Superstition, by a continu'd Crimace and Hypocrisy. This Dissimulation often destroys the Candour and Ingenuity of their Tempers, and makes an irreparable Breach in their Characters.

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As to *physical* Causes, I am inclin'd to doubt altogether of their Operation in this particular ; nor do I think,

If by Chance any of them be possist of a Temper more susceptible of Devotion than usual, so that he has but little Occasion for Hypocrisy to support the Character of his Profession ; 'tis so natural for him to over-rate this Advantage, and to think it atones for every Violation of Morality, that frequently he is not more virtuous than the Hypocrite. And tho' few dare openly avow those exploded Opinions, *that every thing is lawful to the Saints, and that they alone have a Property in their Goods* ; yet may we observe, that these Principles lurk in every Bosom, and represent a Zeal for religious Observances as so great a Merit, that it may compensate for many Vices and Enormities. This Observation is so common, that all prudent Men are on their Guard, when they meet with any extraordinary Appearance of Religion ; tho' at the same Time, they confess, that there are many Exceptions to this general Rule, and that Probability and Superstition are far from being incompatible.

Most Men are ambitious ; but the Ambition of other Men may commonly be satisfy'd, by excelling in their particular Profession, and thereby promoting the Interests of Society. The Ambition of the Clergy can often be satisfy'd only by promoting Ignorance and Superstition and implicate Faith and pious Frauds. And having got what *Archimedes* only wanted, (*viz.* another World, on which he could fix his Engines) no Wonder they move this World at their Pleasure.

Most Men have an over-weening Conceit of themselves ; but *these* have a peculiar Temptation to that Vice, who are regarded with such Veneration, and are even deem'd sacred, by the ignorant Multitude.

Most Men are apt to bear a particular Regard for the Members of their own Profession ; but as a Lawyer, or Physician, or Merchant does, each of them, follow out his Business apart, the Interests of these Professions are not so closely united as the Interests of Clergymen of the same Religion ; where the whole

I think, that Men owe any thing of their Temper or Genius to the Air, Food, or Climate. I confess,

Body gains by the Veneration, paid to their common Tenets, and by the Suppression of Antagonists.

Few Men can bear Contradiction with Patience ; but the Clergy too often proceed even to a Degree of Fury on this Article : Because all their Credit and Livelihood depend upon the Belief, which their Opinions meet with ; and they alone pretend to a divine and supernatural Authority, or have any Colour for representing their Antagonists as impious and prophane. The *Oidium Theologicum*, or Theological Hatred, is noted even to a Proverb, and means that Degree of Rancour, which is the most furious and implacable.

Thus many of the Vices of human Nature are, by fixt moral Causes, inflam'd in that Profession ; and tho' several Individuals escape the Contagion, yet all wise Governments will be on their Guard against the Attempts of a Society, who will for ever combine into one Faction, and while it acts as a Society, will for ever be actuated by Ambition, Pride, and a persecuting Spirit.

The Temper of Religion is grave and serious ; and this is the Character requir'd of Priests, which confines them to strict Rules of Decency, and commonly prevents Irregularity and Intemperance amongst them. The Gaiety, much less the Excesses of Pleasure, is not permitted in that Body ; and this Virtue is, perhaps, the only one they owe to their Profession. In Religions, indeed, founded on speculative Principles, and where public Discourses make a Part of religious Service, it may also be supposed that the Clergy will have a considerable Share in the Learning of the Times ; tho' 'tis certain that their Taste in Eloquence will always be better than their Skill in Reasoning and Philosophy. But whoever possesses the other noble Virtues of Humanity, Meekness, and Moderation, as very many of them, no Doubt, do, is beholden for them to Nature or Reflection, not to the Genius of his Calling.

that

that the contrary Opinion may justly, at first Sight, seem very probable ; since we find, that these Circumstances have an Influence over every other Animal, and that even those Creatures, which are fitted to live in all Climates, such as Dogs, Horses, &c. do not yet attain the same Perfection in all. The Courage of Bull-Dogs and Game-Cocks seems peculiar to *England*. *Flanders* is remarkable for large and heavy Horses : *Spain* for Horses light, and of good Mettle. And any Breed of these Creatures, transported from one Country into another, will soon lose the Qualities, which they deriv'd from their native Climate. It may be ask'd, Why not the same with Men ?

THERE are few Questions more curious than this, nor which will occur oftener in our Enquiries concerning human Affairs ; and therefore it may be proper to give it a serious Examination.

THE human Mind is of a very imitative Nature ; nor is it possible, for any Set of Men, to converse often together, without acquiring a Similitude of Manners, and communicating to each other their Vices as well as Virtues. The Propensity to Company and Society is strong in all rational Creatures ; and the same Disposition, which gives us this Propensity, makes us enter deeply into each other's Sentiments, and causes like Passions and Inclinations to run, as it were by Contagion, thro' the whole Club or Knot of Companions. Where a Number of People are united into one political Body, the Occasions

of their Intercourse must be so frequent, for Defence, Commerce, and Government, that, along with the same Speech or Language, they must contract a Resemblance in their Manners, and have a common or national Character, as well as a personal one, peculiar to each Individual. Now tho' Nature produces all Kinds of Temper and Understanding in great Abundance, it follows not that she always produces them in like Proportions, and that in every Society the Ingredients of Industry and Indolence, Valour and Cowardice, Humanity and Brutality, Wisdom and Folly will be mixt after the same Manner. In the Infancy of Society, if any of these Dispositions be found in greater Abundance than the rest, it will naturally prevail in the Composition, and give a Tincture to the national Character. Or should it be asserted, that no Species of Temper can reasonably be presum'd to predominate, even in those contracted Societies, and that the same Proportions will always be preserv'd in the Mixture; yet surely the Persons in Credit and Authority, being a more contracted Body, cannot always be presum'd to be of the same Character; and their Influence on the Manners of the People, must, at all Times, be very considerable. If on the first Establishment of a Republic, a *Brutus* should be plac'd in Authority, and be transported with such an Enthusiasm for Liberty and public Good, as to overlook all the Ties of Nature, as well as private Interest; such an illustrious Example will naturally have an Effect on the whole Society, and kindle the same Passion in every Bosom. Whatever it be that forms the Manners of one Generation, the next must im-

imbibe a deeper Tincture of the same Dye; Men being more susceptible of all Impressions during Infancy, and retaining these Impressions as long as they remain in the World. I assert, then, that all national Characters, where they depend not on *fixt moral* Causes, proceed from such Accidents as these, and that physical Causes have no discernible Operation on the human Mind.

IF we run over the whole Globe, or revolve all the Annals of History, we shall discover every-where Signs of this Sympathy or Contagion of Manners, and none of the Influence of Air or Climate.

First. WE may observe, that where a very extensive Government has been establish'd for many Centuries, it spreads a national Character over the whole Empire, and communicates to every Part a Similitude of Manners. Thus the *Chinese* have the greatest Uniformity of Character imaginable; tho' the Air and Climate, in different Parts of that vast Empire, admit of very considerable Variations.

Secondly. In small Governments, which are very contiguous, the People have notwithstanding a different Character, and are often as distinguishable in their Manners as the most distant Nations. *Athens* and *Thebes* were but a short Day's Journey from each other; tho' the *Athenians* were as remarkable for Ingenuity, Politeness, and Gaiety, as the *Thebans* for Dulness, Rusticity, and a phlegmatic Temper. *Plutarch*, discoursing of the Effects of Air on the Minds

of Men, observes that the Inhabitants of the *Piræum*, possess very different Tempers from those of the higher Town of *Athens*, which was distant about four Miles from it. But I believe no one attributes the Difference of Manners, in *Wapping* and *St. James's*, to a Difference of Air or Climate.

Thirdly. THE same national Character commonly follows the Authority of the Government to a precise Limit or Boundary; and upon crossing a River, or passing a Mountain, one finds a new Set of Manners along with a new Government. The *Languedocians* and *Gasccons* are the gayest People of all *France*; but whenever you go over the *Pyrenees*, you are among *Spaniards*. Is it conceivable, that the Qualities of the Air should change so exactly with the Limits of an Empire, which depend so much on the Accidents of Battles, Negotiations, and Marriages?

Fourthly. WHERE any Set of Men, scatter'd over distant Nations, have a close Society or Communication together, they acquire a Similitude of Manners, and have but little in common with the Nations amongst whom they live. Thus the *Jews* in *Europe*, and the *Armenians* in the East, have a peculiar Character; and the former are as much noted for Fraud, as the latter for Probity. The *Jesuites*, in all *Roman-Catholic* Countries, are also observ'd to have a Character peculiar to themselves.

Fifthly. WHERE any Accident, as a Difference of Language or Religion, keeps two Nations, inhabiting the

the same Country, from mixing with each other, they will preserve a distinct and even opposite Set of Manners for several Centuries. The Integrity, Gravity, and Bravery of the *Turks* form an exact Contrast to the Levity, Deceit, and Cowardice of the modern *Greeks*.

Sixthly. THE same Set of Manners will follow a Nation, and adhere to them over the whole Globe, as well as the same Laws and Language. The *Spanish*, *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* Colonies are all distinguishable, even betwixt the Tropics.

Seventhly. THE Manners of a People change very considerably from one Age to another; either by great Alterations in their Government, by the Mixtures of new People, or by that Inconstancy, to which all human Affairs are subject. The Ingenuity and Industry of the ancient *Greeks* have nothing in common with the Stupidity and Indolence of the present Inhabitants of those Regions. Candour, Bravery, and Love of Liberty, form'd the Character of the ancient *Romans*; as Subtilty, Cowardice, and a Slavish Disposition do that of the modern. The old *Spaniards* were restless, turbulent, and so addicted to War, that many of them killed themselves, when they were depriv'd of their Arms by the *Romans*. One would find an equal Difficulty, at present, (at least fifty Years ago) to rouse up the modern *Spaniards* to Arms. The *Batavians* were all Soldiers of Fortune, and hir'd themselves into the *Roman* Armies. Their Posterity make use of Foreigners for the same Purpose that the *Romans* did

did their Ancestors. Tho' some Strokes of the *French* Character be the same, which *Cæsar* has ascrib'd to the *Gauls*; yet what Comparison betwixt the Civility, Humanity and Knowledge of the modern Inhabitants of that Country, and the Ignorance, Barbarity and Grossness of the ancient?

Eighthly. WHERE several neighbouring Nations have a very close Communication together, either by Policy, Commerce, or Travelling, they acquire a Similitude of Manners, proportion'd to the Communication. Thus all the *Franks* seem to have a uniform Character to the Eastern Nations. The Differences among them are like the particular Accents of different Provinces, which are not distinguishable, except by an Ear accusom'd to them, and which commonly escape a Foreigner.

Ninthly. WE may often remark a wonderful Mixture of Manners and Character in the same Nation, speaking the same Language, and subject to the same Government: And in this Particular, the *English* are the most remarkable of any People, that ever were in the World. Nor is this to be ascrib'd to the Mutability and Uncertainty of their Climate, or to any other *physical* Causes; since all these Causes take Place in their neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland*, without having the same Effect. Where the Government of a Nation is altogether republican, it is apt to beget a particular Set of Manners. Where it is altogether monarchical, it is more apt to have the same Effect; the Imitation of Superiors spreading the national Manners faster
among

among the People. If a State consists altogether of Merchants, such as *Holland*, their uniform Way of Life will form their Character. If it consists chiefly of Nobles and landed Gentry, like *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, the same Effect follows. The Genius of a particular Sect or Religion is also apt to mould the Manners of a People. But the *English* Government is a Mixture of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. The People are compos'd of Gentry and Merchants. All Sects of Religion are to be found amongst them. And the great Liberty and Independency, which they enjoy, allows every one to display the Manners, which are peculiar to him. Hence the *English*, of any People in the Universe, have the least of a national Character; unless this very Singularity be made their national Character.

IF the Characters of Men depended on the Air and Climate, the Degrees of Heat and Cold should naturally be expected to have a mighty Influence; since nothing has a greater Effect on all Plants and irrational Animals. And indeed, there is some Reason to think, that all the Nations, which live beyond the polar Circles or betwixt the Tropics, are inferior to the rest of the Species, and are utterly incapable of all the higher Attainments of the human Mind. The Poverty and Misery of the northern Inhabitants of the Globe, and the Indolence of the southern, may, perhaps, account for this remarkable Difference, without having Recourse to *physical* Causes. This however is certain, that the Characters of Nations are very promiscuous in the temperate Climates, and that almost

most all the general Observations, which have been form'd of the more southern or more northern Nations in these Climates, are found to be uncertain and fallacious.

SHALL we say, that the Neighbourhood of the Sun inflames the Imagination of Men, and gives them a peculiar Spirit and Vivacity? The *French*, *Greeks*, *Egyptians* and *Persians* are remarkable for Gaiety: The *Spaniards*, *Turks* and *Chinese* are noted for Gravity and a serious Behaviour; without any such Difference of Climate, as to produce this Difference of Temper.

THE *Greeks* and *Romans*, who call'd all other Nations Barbarians, confin'd Genius and a fine Understanding to the more southern Climates, and pronounc'd the northern Nations incapable of all Knowledge and Civility. But *Britain* has produc'd as great Men, either for Action or Learning, as *Greece* or *Italy* have to boast of.

'Tis pretended, that the Sentiments of Men become more delicate as they approach nearer the Sun; and that their Taste of Beauty and Elegance of every Kind receives proportionable Improvements in every Latitude, as we may particularly observe of the Languages, of which the more southern are smooth and melodious, the northern harsh and untuneable. But this Observation holds not universally. The *Arabic* is uncouth and disagreeable: The *Muscovite* soft and musical. Energy, Strength, and sometimes Harsh-

ness form the Character of the *Latin* Tongue : The *Italian* is the most liquid, smooth, and effeminate Language, that can possibly be imagin'd. Every Language will depend somewhat on the Manners of the People ; but much more on that original Stock of Words and Sounds, which they receiv'd from their Ancestors, and which remain unchangeable, even while their Manners admit of the greatest Alterations. Who can doubt, that the *English* are at present a much more polite and knowing People than the *Greeks* were for several Ages after the Siege of *Troy* ? Yet there is no Comparison between the Language of *Milton* and that of *Homer*. Nay, the greater are the Alterations and Improvements, which happen in the Manners of a People, the less can be expected in their Language. A few great and refin'd Geniuses will communicate their Taste and Knowledge to a whole People, and produce the greatest Improvements : But they fix the Tongue by their Writings, and prevent, in some Degree, its farther Changes.

My Lord *Bacon* has observ'd, that the Inhabitants of the South are, in general, more ingenious than those of the North ; but that, where the Native of a cold Climate has Genius, he rises to a higher Pitch than can be reached by the southern Wits. This Observation a late Writer † confirms, by comparing the southern Wits to Cucumbers, which are commonly all good of their Kind ; but at the best are an insipid Fruit : While the northern Geniuses are like Me-

† Dr. *Berkeley* : Minute Philosopher.

long, of which not one in fifty is good ; but when it is good, it has an exquisite Relish. I believe this Remark may be allow'd just, when confin'd to the *European Nations*, and to the present Age, or rather to the preceding one : But then I think it may be accounted for by moral Causes. All the Sciences and liberal Arts have been imported to us from the South ; and 'tis easy to imagine, that, in the first Ardour of Application, when excited by Emulation and by Glory, the few, that were addict'd to them, would carry them to the greatest Height, and stretch every Nerve, and every Faculty, to reach the Pinnacle of Perfection. Such illustrious Examples spread Knowledge every where, and begot an universal Esteem for the Sciences : After which, 'tis no Wonder, that Industry relaxes ; while Men meet not with suitable Encouragements, nor arrive at such Distinction by their Attainments. The universal Diffusion of Learning among a People, and the entire Banishment of gross Ignorance and Rusticity is, therefore, seldom attended with any remarkable Perfection in particular Persons. “ Formerly, “ says *Juvenal*, Learning was confin'd to *Greece* and “ *Italy*. Now the whole World emulate *Athens* and “ *Rome*. Eloquent *Gaul* has taught *Britain*, knowing in the Laws. Even *Thulé* entertains Thoughts “ of hiring Rhetoricians for its Instruction.” * This

* *Sed Cantaber unde*

Stoicus ? antiqui præsertim ætate Metelli.

Nunc totus Graias, nostrasque habet orbis Athenas.

Gallia caufidicos docuit facunda Britannos :

De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thulé,

Satyr. 15.

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State of Learning is remarkable ; because *Juvenal* is himself the last of the *Roman* Writers, who possess any Degree of Genius : Those, who succeeded, are valued for nothing but the Matters of Fact, of which they give us Information. I wish the late Conversion of *Muscovy* to the Study of the Sciences may not prove a like Prognostic to the present Period of Learning.

Cardinal *Bentivoglio* gives the Preference to the northern Nations above the southern with regard to Candour and Sincerity ; and mentions, on the one Hand, the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, and on the other, the *Flemish* and *Germans*. But I am apt to think, that this has happened by Accident. The ancient *Romans* seem to have been a candid sincere People ; as are the modern *Turks*. But if we will needs suppose, that this Event has arisen from fixt Causes, we may only conclude from it, that all Extremes are apt to concur, and are commonly attended with the same Consequences. Treachery is the most usual Concomitant of Ignorance and Barbarity ; and if civiliz'd Nations ever embrace subtle and crooked Politics, 'tis from an Excess of Refinement, which makes them disdain the plain direct Road to Power and Glory.

MOST Conquests have gone from North to South ; and thence it has been infer'd, that the northern Nations possess a superior Degree of Courage and Ferocity. But it would have been juster to have said, that most Conquests are made by Poverty and Want upon Plenty and Riches. The *Saracens*, leaving the Deserts of *Arabia*, carried their Conquests northwards
upon

upon all the fertile Provinces of the *Roman* Empire ; and met the *Turks* half Way, who were coming southwards from the Deserts of *Tartary*.

AN eminent Writer * has remark'd, that all courageous Animals are also carnivorous, and that greater Courage is to be expected in a People, such as the *English*, whose Food is strong and hearty, than in the half-starv'd Commonalty of other Countries. But the *Swedes*, notwithstanding their Disadvantages in this Particular, are not inferior, in martial Courage, to any Nation that ever was in the World.

In general, we may observe, that Courage, of all national Qualities, is the most precarious ; because it is exerted only at Intervals, and by a few in every Nation ; whereas Industry, Knowledge, Civility, may be of constant and universal Use, and may become habitual to the whole People. If Courage be preserv'd, it must be by Discipline, Example, and Opinion †. The tenth Legion of *Cæsar*, and the Regiment of *Pi-*

* Sir *William Temple's* Account of the Netherlands.

† As a Proof how much Courage depends on Opinion, we may observe, that of the two chief Tribes of the *Greeks*, the *Dorians* and *Ionians*, the former were always esteem'd, and always appear'd more brave and manly than the latter ; tho' the Colonies of both the Tribes were interspers'd and intermingled thro' all the Extent of *Greece*, the lesser *Asia*, *Sicily*, *Italy* and the Islands of the *Ægean* Sea. The *Athenians* were the only *Ionians* that ever had any Reputation for Valour or military Atchievements ; tho' even these were esteem'd inferior to the *Lacedemonians*, the bravest of the *Dorians*,

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cardy in *France* were form'd promiscuously from amongst the Citizens ; but having once entertain'd a Notion, that they were the best Troops in the Service, this very Opinion really made them such.

THE only Observation, with regard to the Differences of Men in different Climates, on which we can repose any Weight, is the Vulgar one, that People in the northern Regions have a greater Inclination to strong Liquors, and those in the southern to Love and Women. One can assign a very probable *physical* Cause for this Difference. Wine and distill'd Spirits warm the frozen Blood in the colder Climates, and fortify Men against the Injuries of the Weather : As the genial Heat of the Sun, in the Countries, expos'd to his Beams, inflames the Blood, and exalts the Passion betwixt the Sexes.

PERHAPS too, the Matter may be accounted for by *moral* Causes. All strong Liquors are rarer in the North, and consequently are more coveted. *Diodorus Siculus* * tells us, that the *Gauls*, in his Time, were great Drunkards, and much addicted to Wine, chiefly from its Rarity and Novelty. On the other Hand, the Heat in the southern Climates, obliging Men and Women to go half naked, thereby renders their frequent Commerce more dangerous, and in-

* *Lib.* 5. The same Author ascribes Taciturnity to that People ; a new Proof that national Characters may alter very much.

flames their mutual Passion. This makes Parents and Husbands more jealous and reserv'd; which still farther inflames the Passion. Not to mention, that as Women ripen sooner in the southern Regions, 'tis necessary to observe greater Jealousy and Care in their Education; it being evident that a Girl of twelve cannot possess equal Discretion to govern the Furies of this Passion, as one, who feels not its Violence till she be seventeen or eighteen.

P E R H A P S too, the Fact is false, that Nature has, either from moral or physical Causes, distributed these different Inclinations to the different Climates. The ancient *Greeks*, tho' born in a warm Climate, seem to have been much addicted to the Bottle; nor were their Parties of Pleasure any thing but Matches of Drinking amongst the Men, who pass their Time altogether apart from the Fair-Sex. Yet when *Alexander* led the *Greeks* into *Persia*, a still more southern Climate, they multiplied their Debauches of this Kind, in Imitation of the *Persian* Manners. So honourable was the Character of a Drunkard amongst the *Persians*, that *Cyrus* the younger, soliciting the sober *Macedonians* for Succour against his Brother, *Artaxerxes*, claims it chiefly on Account of his superior endowments, as more valorous, more bountiful, and a better Drinker. *Darius Hystaspes* made it be inscribed on his Tombstone, among his other Virtues and princely Qualities, that no one could bear a greater quantity of Liquor. You may obtain any Thing of the *Negroes* by offering them strong Liquors; and
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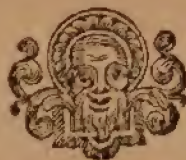
may easily prevail with them to sell, not only their Parents, but their Wives and Mistresses, for a Cask of Brandy. In *France* and *Italy* no Body ever drinks pure Wine, except in the greatest Heats of Summer; and indeed, it is then almost as necessary, in order to recruit the Spirits, evaporated by Heat, as it is in *Sweden*, during the Winter, in order to warm the Bodies congeal'd by the Rigour of the Season.

IF Jealousy be regarded as a Proof of an amorous Disposition, no People were more jealous than the *Muscovites*, before their Communication with *Europe* had somewhat alter'd their Manners in this Particular.

BUT supposing the Fact true, that Nature, by physical Principles, has regularly distributed these two Passions, the one to the northren, the other to the southern Regions; we can only infer, that the Climate may affect the grosser and more bodily Organs of our Frame; not that it can work upon those finer Organs, on which the Operations of the Mind and Understanding depend. And this is agreeable to the Analogy of Nature. The Races of Animals never degenerates when carefully tended; and Horses, in particular, always show their Blood in their Shape, Spirit, and Swiftnes: But a Coxcomb may beget a Philosopher, as a Man of Virtue may leave a Scoundrel Progeny.

I SHALL conclude this Subject with observing, that tho' the Passion for Liquor be much more brutal and
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debasing than Love, which, when properly manag'd, is the Source of all Politeness and Refinement; yet this gives not so great an Advantage to the southern Climates, as we may be apt, at first Sight, to imagine. When Love goes beyond a certain Pitch, it renders Men jealous, and cuts off the free Intercourse betwixt the Sexes, on which the Politeness of a Nation will always much depend. And if we would subtilize and refine upon this Point, we might observe, that Nations, in very temperate Climates, stand the fairest Chance for all Sorts of Improvement; their Blood not being so inflam'd as to render them jealous, and yet being warm enough to make them set a due Value on the Charms and Endowments of the Fair Sex.



ESSAY XXV.

Of the ORIGINAL CONTRACT.

AS no Party, in the present Age, can pretend to support itself, without a philosophical or speculative System of Principles, annex'd to its political or practical ones; we accordingly find, that each of the Parties, into which this Nation is divided, has rear'd up a Fabric of this Kind, in order to protect and cover that Scheme of Actions, which it prosecutes. The People being commonly very rough Builders, especially in this speculative way, and more especially still, when actuated by Party Zeal; 'tis natural to imagine, that their Workmanship must be a little unshapely, and discover evident Marks of that Violence and Hurry, in which it was rais'd. The one Party, by tracing up the Origin of Government to the DEITY, endeavour to render it so sacred and inviolate, that it must be little less than Sacrilege, however disorderly it may become, to touch or invade it, in the smallest Article. The other Party, by founding Government altogether on the Consent of the PEOPLE, suppose that there is a Kind of *original Contract*, by which the Subjects have reserv'd the Power of resisting their Sovereign, whenever they find themselves

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aggrieved by that Authority, with which they have, for certain Purposes, voluntarily entrusted him. These are the speculative Principles of the two Parties; and these too are the practical Consequences, deduc'd from them.

I SHALL venture to affirm, *That both these Systems of speculative Principles are just; tho' not in the Sense, intended by the Parties: And That both the Schemes of practical Consequences are prudent; tho' not in the Extremes, to which each Party, in Opposition to the other, has commonly endeavoured to carry them.*

THAT the DEITY is the ultimate Author of all Government, will never be denied by any one who admits a general Providence, and allows, that all Events in the Universe are conducted by a uniform Plan and directed to wise Purposes. As 'tis impossible for human Race to subsist, at least in any comfortable or secure State, without the Protection of Government; it must certainly have been intended by that beneficent Being, who means the Good of all his Creatures: And as it has universally, in Fact, taken place, in all Countries and all Ages; we may conclude, with still greater Certainty, that it was intended by that omniscient Being, who can never be deceived by any Event or Operation. But since he gave rise to it, not by any particular or miraculous Interposition, but by his concealed and universal Efficacy; a Sovereign cannot, properly speaking, be called his Vice-gerent, in any other Sense than every Power or Force, being deriv'd from him, may be said to act by his Commission. Whatever actually happens is comprehended in the general Plan or Inten-
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tion of Providence; nor has the greatest and most lawful Prince any more Reason, upon that Account, to plead a peculiar Sacredness or inviolable Authority, than an inferior Magistrate, or even an Usurper, or even a Robber and a Pyrate. The same divine Super-intendant, who, for wise Purposes, invested an *Elizabeth* or a *Harry** with Authority, did also, for Purposes, no doubt, equally wise, tho' unknown, bestow Power on a *Borgia* or an *Angria*. The same Causes, which gave Rise to the Sovereign Power in every State, did also establish every petty Jurisdiction in it, and every limited Authority. A Constable, therefore, no less than a King, acts by a divine Commission, and possesses an indefeasible Right.

WHEN we consider how nearly equal all Men are in their bodily Force, and even in their mental Powers and Faculties, 'ere cultivated by Education; we must necessarily allow, that nothing but their own Consent cou'd, at first, associate them together, and subject them to any Authority. The PEOPLE, if we trace up Government to its first Origin, in the Woods and Deserts, are the Source of all Power and Jurisdiction, and voluntarily, for the Sake of Peace and Order, abandon'd their native Liberty, and receiv'd Laws from their Equal and Companion. The Conditions, upon which they were willing to submit, were either express, or were so clear and obvious, that it might well be esteem'd superfluous to express them. If this, then, be meant by the *original Contract*, it cannot be denied, that all Government is,

* *Harry the 4th of France,*

at first, founded on a Contract, and that the most ancient rude Combinations of Mankind were form'd entirely by that Principle. In vain, are we sent to the Records to seek for this Charter of our Liberties. It was not wrote on Parchment, nor yet on Leaves or Barks of Trees. It preceded the Use of Writing, and all the other civiliz'd Arts of Life. But we trace it plainly in the Nature of Man, and in the Equality, which we find in all the Individuals of that Species. The Force, which now prevails, and which is founded on Fleets and Armies, is plainly political, and deriv'd from Authority, the Effect of establish'd Government. A Man's natural Force consists only in the Vigour of his Limbs and Firmness of his Courage; which could never subject Multitudes to his Command. Nothing but their own Consent, and their Sense of the Advantages of Peace and Order, could have had that Influence.

BUT Philosophers, who have embrac'd a Party (if that be not a Contradiction in Terms) are not contented with these Concessions. They assert, not only that Government in its earliest Infancy arose from Consent, or the voluntary Combination of the People, but also, that, even at present, when it has attain'd its full Maturity, it rests on no other Foundation. They affirm, that all Men are still born equal, and owe Allegiance to no Prince or Government, unless bound by the Obligation and Sanction of a *Promise*. And as no Man, without some Equivalent, would forego the Advantages of his native Liberty, and subject himself to the Will of another; this Promise is always understood to be conditional, and imposes on him no

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Obligation, unless he meets with Justice and Protection from his Sovereign. These Advantages the Sovereign promises him in return; and if he fails in the Execution, he has broke his Articles of Engagement, and thereby freed his Subjects from all Obligations to Allegiance. Such, according to these Philosophers, is the Foundation of Authority in every Government; and such the Right of Resistance, possess'd by every Subject.

BUT would these Reasoners look abroad into the World, they would meet with nothing that, in the least, corresponds to their Ideas, or can warrant so refin'd and philosophical a System. On the contrary, we find, every where, Princes, who claim their Subjects as their Property, and assert their independent Right of Sovereignty, from Conquest or Succession. We find also, every where, Subjects, who acknowledge this Right in their Princes, and suppose themselves born under Obligations of Obedience to a certain Sovereign, as much as under the Ties of Reverence and Duty to certain Parents. These Connexions are always conceived to be equally independent of our Consent, in *Persia* and *China*; in *France* and *Spain*; and even in *Holland* and *England*, wherever the Doctrines abovemention'd have not been carefully inculcated. Obedience or Subjection becomes so familiar, that most Men never make any Enquiry about its Origin or Cause, more than about the Principle of Gravity, Resistance, or the most universal Laws of Nature. Or if Curiosity ever move them; as soon as they learn, that they themselves and their Ancestors have, for several Ages, or from Time im-

memorial, been subject to such a Government or such a Family; they immediately acquiesce, and acknowledge their Duty of Allegiance. Were you to preach, in most Parts of the World, that political Connexions are founded altogether on voluntary Consent or a mutual Promise, the Magistrate would soon imprison you, as seditious, for loosening the Tyes of Obedience; if your Friends did not before shut you up, as delirious, for advancing such Absurdities. 'Tis strange, that an Act of the Mind, which every Individual is suppos'd to have form'd, and after he came to the Use of Reason too, otherwise it cou'd have no Authority; that this Act, I say, should be so unknown to all of them, that, over the Face of the whole Earth, there scarce remain any Traces or Memory of it.

BUT the Contract, on which Government is founded, is said to be the *original Contract*; and consequently may be suppos'd too old to fall under the Knowledge of the present Generation. If the Agreement, by which savage Men first associated and conjoin'd their Force, be here meant, this is acknowledged to be real; but being so ancient, and being obliterated by a thousand Changes of Government and Princes, it cannot now be suppos'd to retain any Authority. If we would say any Thing to the Purpose, we must assert, that every particular Government, which is lawful, and which imposes any Duty of Allegiance on the Subject, was, at first, founded on Consent and a voluntary Compact. But besides that this supposes the Consent of the Fathers to bind the Children, even to the most remote Generations (which

(which republican Writers will never allow) besides this, I say, it is not justified by History or Experience, in any Age or Country of the World.

ALMOST all the Governments, which exist at present, or of which there remains any Record in Story, have been founded originally, either on Usurpation, or Conquest, or both, without any Pretence of a fair Consent, or voluntary Subjection of the People. When an artful and bold Man is plac'd at the Head of an Army or Faction, 'tis often easy for him, by employing sometimes Violence, sometimes false Pretences, to establish his Dominion over a People a hundred Times more numerous than his Partizans. He allows no such open Communication, that his Enemies can know, with Certainty, their Number or Forces. He gives them no Leisure to assemble together in a Body to oppose him. Even all those, who are the Instruments of his Usurpation, may wish his Fall; but their Ignorance of each other's Intentions keeps them in Awe, and is the sole Cause of his Security. By such Arts as these many Governments have been establish'd; and this is all the *original Contract* they have to boast of.

THE Face of the Earth is continually changing, by the Encrease of small Kingdoms into mighty Empires, by the Dissolution of great Empires into smaller Kingdoms, by the planting of Colonies, by the Migration of Tribes. Is there any Thing discoverable, in all these Events, but Force and Violence? Where is the mutual Agreement or voluntary Association so much talkt of?

EVEN the smoothest Way, by which a Nation may receive a foreign Master, by Marriage or a Will, is

not extremely honourable for the People; but supposes them to be dispos'd of, like a Dowry or a Legacy, according to the Pleasure or Interest of their Rulers.

BUT where no Force interposes, and Election takes place; what is this Election so highly vaunted? 'Tis either a few great Men, who decide for the Whole, and will allow of no Contradiction or Opposition: Or 'tis the Rabble, that follow a seditious Ring-leader, who is not known, perhaps, to a dozen amongst them, and who owes his Advancement merely to his Impudence, or the momentary Caprice of his Fellows. Are these disorderly Elections, which are rare too, of such mighty Authority, as to be the only lawful Foundation of all Government and Allegiance?

IN reality, there is not a more terrible Event, than a total Dissolution of Government, which gives Liberty to the Multitude, and makes the Determination or Choice of the new Establishment depend upon a Number, that nearly approaches the Body of the People: For it never comes entirely to the whole Body of them. Every wise Man, then, wishes to see, at the Head of a powerful and obedient Army, a General, who may speedily seize the Prize, and give to the People a Master, which they are so unfit to choose for themselves. So little correspondent is Fact and Reality to those philosophical Notions.

LET not the Establishment at the *Revolution*, deceive us, or make us so much in Love with a philosophical Origin to Government, as to imagine all others monstrous and irregular. Even that
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was far from corresponding to these refin'd Ideas. 'Twas only the Succession, and that only in the regal Part of the Government, which was then changed: And 'twas only the Majority of seven hundred, who determin'd that Change for near seven Millions. I doubt not, indeed, but the Bulk of these seven Millions acquiesc'd willingly in the Determination: But was the Matter left, in the least, to their Choice? Was it not justly supposed to be, from that Moment, decided, and every Man punish'd, who refus'd to submit to the new Sovereign? How otherways could the Matter have ever been brought to any Issue or Conclusion?

THE Republic of *Athens* was, I believe, the most extensive Democracy we read of in History: Yet if we make the requisite Allowances for the Women, the Slaves, and the Strangers, we shall find, that that Establishment was not, at first, made, nor any Law ever voted, by a tenth Part of those, who were bound to pay Obedience to it. Not to mention the Islands and foreign Dominions, which the *Athenians* claim'd as theirs by Right of Conquest. And as 'tis well known, that popular Assemblies in that City were always full of Licence and Disorder, notwithstanding of the Forms and Laws, by which they were checkt: How much more disorderly must they be, where they form not the establish'd Constitution, but assemble tumultuously on the Dissolution of the ancient Government, in order to give rise to a new one? How chimerical must it be to talk of a Choice in any such Circumstances?

'Tis in vain to say, that all Governments are, or shou'd be, at first, founded on popular Consent,

as much as the Necessity of human Affairs will admit. This favours entirely my Pretension. I maintain, that human Affairs never will admit of this Consent; seldom of the Appearance of it: But that Conquest or Usurpation, that is, in plain Terms, Force, by dissolving the ancient Governments, is the Origin of almost all the new ones, that ever were establish'd in the World. And that in the few Cases, wherein Consent may seem to have taken place, it was so irregular, so confin'd, or so much intermix'd either with Fraud or Violence, that it cannot have any great Authority.

WHEN a new Government is establish'd, by whatever Arts, the People are commonly dissatisfy'd with it, and pay Obedience more from Fear and Necessity, than from any Idea of Allegiance or moral Obligation. The Prince is watchful and jealous, and must carefully guard against every Beginning or Appearance of Insurrection. Time, by Degrees, removes all these Difficulties, and accustoms the Nation to regard, as their lawful or native Princes, that Family, whom, at first, they considered as Usurpers or foreign Conquerors. In order to found this Opinion, they have no Recourse to any Notion of voluntary Consent or Promise, which, they know, never was, in this Case, either expected or demanded. The original Establishment was form'd by Violence, and submitted to from Necessity. The subsequent Administration is also supported by Power, and acquiesc'd in by the People, not as a Matter of Choice, but of Obligation. They imagine not, that their Consent gives their Prince a Title: But they willingly consent, because

cause they think, that, from long Possession, he has acquir'd a Title, independent of their Choice or Inclination.

SHOULD it be said, that by living under the Dominion of a Prince, which one might leave, every Individual has given a *tacit* Consent to his Authority, and promis'd him Obedience; it may be answer'd, That such imply'd Consent can only take place, where a Man imagines, that the Matter depends on his Choice. But where he thinks (as all Mankind do, who are born under establish'd Governments) that by his Birth he owes Allegiance to a certain Prince or certain Government; it would be absurd to infer a Consent or Choice, which he expressly, in this Case, renounces and abjures.

CAN we seriously say, that a poor Peasant or Artizan has a free Choice to leave his own Country, when he knows no foreign Language or Manners, and lives from Day to Day, by the small Wages he acquires? We may as well assert, that a Man, by remaining in a Vessel, freely consents to the Dominion of the Master; tho' he was carry'd on board while asleep, and must leap into the Ocean, and perish, the Moment he leaves her.

WHAT if the Prince forbid his Subjects to leave his Dominions; as *Tiberius* punish'd a *Roman* Senator for attempting to fly to the *Parthians*, in order to escape his Tyranny? Or as the ancient *Muscovites* prohibited all travelling under Pain of Death? And did a Prince observe, that many of his Subjects were seiz'd with the Frenzy of transporting themselves to foreign Nations, he would doubtless, with great Reason

son and Justice, restrain it, in order to prevent the Depopulation of his own Country. Would he forfeit the Allegiance of all his Subjects, by so wise and reasonable a Law? Yet the Freedom of their Choice is surely, in that Case, ravish'd from them.

A COMPANY of Men, who should leave their native Country, in order to People some uninhabited Region, might dream of recovering their native Freedom; but they would soon find, that their Prince still laid claim to them, and call'd them his Subjects, even in their new Settlement. And in this he would act entirely conformable to the common Ideas of Mankind.

THE truest *tacit* Consent of this Kind, which is ever observ'd, is when a Foreigner settles in any Country, and is beforehand acquainted with the Prince, and Government, and Laws, to which he must submit: Yet is his Allegiance, tho' more voluntary, much less expected or depended on, than that of a natural born Subject. On the contrary, his native Prince still asserts a Right to him. And if he punishes not the Renegade, when he seizes him in War with his new Prince's Commission; this Clemency is not founded on the municipal Law, which in all Countries condemns the Prisoner; but on the Consent of Princes, who have agreed to this Indulgence, in order to prevent Reprisals.

SUPPOSE an Usurper, after having banish'd his lawful Prince and royal Family, should establish his Dominion for ten or a dozen Years in any Country, and should preserve such an exact Discipline in his Troops, and so regular a Disposition in his Garisons,

That no Insurrection had ever been rais'd, or even Murmur heard, against his Administration: Can it be asserted, that the People, who in their Hearts abhor his Treason, have tacitly consented to his Authority, and promis'd him Allegiance, merely because, from Necessity, they live under his Dominion? Suppose again their natural Prince restor'd, by Means of an Army, which he assembles in foreign Countries: They receive him with Joy and Exultation, and shew plainly with what Reluctance they had submitted to any other Yoke. I may now ask, upon what Foundation the Prince's Title stands? Not on popular Consent surely: For tho' the People willingly acquiesce in his Authority, they never imagine, that their Consent makes him Sovereign: They consent; because they apprehend him to be already, by Birth, their lawful Sovereign. And as to that tacit Consent, which may now be infer'd from their living under his Dominion, this is no more than what they formerly gave to the Tyrant and Usurper.

WHEN we assert, that all lawful Government arises from the People, we certainly do them a great deal more Honour than they deserve, or even expect and desire from us. After the *Roman* Dominions became too unweildy for the Republic to govern, the People, over the whole known World, were extremely grateful to *Augustus* for that Authority, which, by Violence, he establish'd over them; and they shew'd an equal Disposition to submit to the Successor, whom he left them, by his last Will and Testament. It was afterwards their Misfortune, that there never was, in one Family, any long regular Succession; but that
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their Line of Princes was continually broke, either by private Assassinations or public Rebellions. The *Prætorian* Bands, on the Failure of every Family, set up one Emperor: the Legions in the *East* a second: those in *Germany*, perhaps, a third: And the Sword alone could decide their Pretensions. The Condition of the People, in that mighty Monarchy, was to be lamented, not because the Choice of Emperor was never left to them; for that was impracticable: But because they never fell under any Succession of Masters, who might regularly follow each other. As to the Violence and Wars and Bloodshed, occasion'd by every new Settlement; those were blameless, because inevitable.

THE House of *Lancaster* rul'd in *England* about sixty Years: The present Establishment has taken Place very near the same Time. Have all Views of Right in another Family been utterly extinguish'd; even tho' few Men now alive had arriv'd at Years of Discretion, when it was expell'd, or could have consented to its Dominion, or have promis'd it Allegiance? A sufficient Indication surely of the general Sentiment of Mankind on this Head. For we blame not the Adherents of the abdicated Family, merely on Account of the long Time they have preserv'd their imaginary Fidelity. We blame them for adhering to a Family, which, we affirm, has been justly expell'd, and which, from the Moment the new Settlement took place, had forfeited all Title to Authority.

BUT would we have a more regular, at least, a more philosophical Refutation of this Principle of an original Contract or popular Consent; perhaps, the following Observations may suffice.

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ALL moral Duties may be divided into two Kinds. The *first* are those, to which Men are impell'd by a natural Instinct or immediate Propensity, that operates in them, independent of all Ideas of Obligation, and of all Views either to public or private Utility. Of this Nature are, Love of Children, Gratitude to Benefactors, Pity to the Misfortunate. When we reflect on the Advantage, that results to Society from such humane Instincts, we pay them the just Tribute of moral Approbation and Esteem: But the Person, actuated by them, feels their Power and Influence, antecedent to any such Reflection.

THE *second* Kind of moral Duties are such as are not supported by any original Instincts of Nature, but are perform'd entirely from a Sense of Obligation, when we consider the Necessities of human Society, and the Impossibility of supporting it, if these Duties were neglected. 'Tis thus *Justice* or a Regard to the Property of others, *Fidelity* or the Observance of Promises, become moral Duties, and acquire an Authority over Mankind. For as 'tis evident that every Man loves himself better than any other Person, he is naturally impell'd to acquire as much as possible; and nothing can ever restrain him, in this Propensity, but Reflection and Experience, by which he learns the pernicious Effects of that Licence, and the total Dissolution of Society, which must ensue from it. His original Inclination, therefore, or Instinct is here check'd and restrain'd by a subsequent Judgment or Observation.

THE Case is precisely the same with the political or civil Duty of *Allegiance*, as with the natural Duties

ties of Justice and Fidelity. Our primary Instincts lead us, either to indulge ourselves in unlimited Liberty, or to seek Dominion over others: And 'tis Reflection only, that engages us to sacrifice such strong Passions to the Interests of Peace and Order. A very small Degree of Experience and Observation suffices to teach us, that Society cannot possibly be maintained without the Authority of Magistrates, and that that Authority must soon fall into Contempt, where exact Obedience is not pay'd to it. The Observation of these general and obvious Interests is the Source of all Allegiance, and of that moral Obligation, which we attribute to it.

WHAT Necessity is there, therefore, to found the Duty of *Allegiance* or Obedience to Magistrates on that of *Fidelity* or a Regard to Promises, and to suppose, that 'tis the Consent of each Individual, which subjects him to Government; when it appears, that both Allegiance and Fidelity stand precisely on the same Foundation, and are both submitted to by Mankind, on Account of the apparent Interests and Necessities of human Society? We are bound to obey our Sovereign, 'tis said; because we have given a tacit Promise to that Purpose. But why are we bound to observe our Promise? It must be asserted, that the Commerce and Intercourse of Mankind, which are of such infinite Advantage, can have no Security, where Men pay no regard to their Engagements. It may, in like Manner, be said, that Men could not live at all in Society, at least in a civiliz'd Society, without Laws and Magistrates and Judges, to prevent the Encroachments of the strong upon the weak, the violent upon
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on the just and equitable. The Obligation to Allegiance, being of like Force and Authority with the Obligation to Fidelity, we gain nothing by resolving the one into the other. The general Interests or Necessities of Society are sufficient to establish both.

If the Reason is askt of that Obedience, which we are bound to pay to Government, I readily answer; *because Society cou'd not otherwise subsist*: And this Answer is clear and intelligible to all Mankind. Your answer is, *because we shou'd keep our Word*. But besides, that no Body, 'till train'd in a philosophical System, can either comprehend or relish this Answer: Besides this, I say, you find yourself embarrass'd, when 'tis ask'd you, *why we are bound to keep our Word*? And you can give no other Answer, but what would, immediately, without any Circuitry, have accounted for our Obligation to Allegiance.

BUT to whom is Allegiance due? And who are our lawful Sovereigns? This Question is often the most difficult of any, and liable to infinite Discussions. When People are so happy, that they can answer, *Our present Sovereign, who inherits, in a direct Line, from Ancestors, that have govern'd us for many Ages*; this Answer admits of no Reply; even tho' Historians, in tracing up to the remotest Antiquity the Origin of that royal Family, may find, as commonly happens, that its first Authority was deriv'd from Usurpation and Violence. 'Tis confest, that private Justice or the Abstinence from the Properties of others, is a most cardinal Virtue: Yet Reason tells us, that there is no Property in durable Objects, such as Lands or Houses, when carefully examin'd in passing from
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Hand to Hand, but must, in some Period, have been founded on Fraud and Injustice. The Necessities of human Society, neither in private nor publick Life, will allow of such an accurate Enquiry: And there is no Virtue or moral Duty, but what may, with Facility, be refin'd away, if we indulge a false Philosophy, in sifting and scrutinizing it, by every captious Rule of Logic, in every Light or Position, wherein it may be plac'd.

THE Questions with Regard to private Property have fill'd infinite Volumes of Law and Philosophy, not to mention the Commentators upon both; and in the End, we may safely pronounce, that many of the Rules, there establish'd, are uncertain, ambiguous, and arbitrary. The like Opinion may be form'd with regard to the Successions and Rights of Princes and Forms of Government. The Discussion of these Matters would lead us entirely beyond the Compass of these Essays. 'Tis sufficient for our present Purpose, if we have been able to determine, in general, the Foundation of that Allegiance, which is due to the establish'd Government, in every Kingdom and Commonwealth *.

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* When there is no legal Prince, who has a Title to a Throne, I believe it may safely be determined to belong to the first Occupier. This was frequently the Case with the *Roman Empire*. When any Race of Princes expires, the Will or Destination of the last Prince will be regarded as a Title. Thus the Edict of *Louis the XIVth*, who call'd the Bastard Princes to the Succession, in Case of Failure of all the legitimate Princes, would, in such an Event, have some Authority. The Cession of the ancient Proprietor, especially when join'd to Conquest, is likewise esteem'd a very good Right. The general Bond or Obligation, that binds us to Government, is the Interest and Necessities of Society; and this

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WE shall only observe, before we conclude, that tho' an Appeal to general Opinion may justly, in the speculative Sciences of Metaphysics, natural Philosophy, or Astronomy, be esteem'd unfair and inconclusive, yet in all Questions with regard to Morals, as well as Criticism, there is really no other Standard, by which any other Controversy can ever be decided. And nothing can be a clearer Proof, that a Theory of this Kind is erroneous, than to find, that it leads us into Paradoxes, which are repugnant to the common Sentiments of Mankind, and to the Practice and Opinion of all Nations and all Ages. The Doctrine, that founds all lawful Government on an *original Contract*, or Consent of the People, is plainly of this Kind; nor has the ablest of its Partizans, in Prosecution of it, scrupled to affirm, *that absolute Monarchy is inconsistent with civil Society, and so can be no Form of civil Government at all**; and *that the supreme Power in a State cannot take from any Man by Taxes and Impositions, any Part of his Property without his own Consent or that of his Representatives*†. What Authority any moral Reasoning can have, which leads into Opinions, so wide of the general Practice of Mankind, in every Place put this single Kingdom, 'tis easy to determine.

Obligation is very strong, The Determination of it to this or that particular Prince or Form of Government is frequently more uncertain and dubious. Present Possession has considerable Authority in these Cases, and greater than in private Property; because of the Disorders, that attend all Revolutions and Changes of Government.

* See Locke on Government, Chap. 7. §. 90.

† Id. Chap. 11. §. 138, 139, 140.

ESSAY XXVI.

Of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE.

IN the former Essay, we have endeavour'd to refute the *speculative* Systems of Politics, advanc'd in this Nation ; as well the religious System of the one Party, as the philosophical of the other. We come now to examine the *practical* Consequences, deduc'd by each Party, with regard to the Measures of Submission, due to Sovereigns.

As the Obligation to Justice is founded intirely on the Interests of Society, which require mutual Abstinence from Property, in order to preserve Peace amongst Mankind ; 'tis evident, that, when the Execution of Justice would be attended with very pernicious Consequences, that Virtue must be suspended, and give place to public Utility, in such extraordinary and such pressing Emergencies. The Maxim, *fiat Justitia & ruat Cælum*, let Justice be perform'd, tho' the Universe be destroy'd, is apparently false, and by sacrificing the End to the Means, shews a preposterous Idea of the Subordination of Duties. What Governor of a Town makes any Scruple of burning the Suburbs, when they facilitate the Advances of the Enemy ? Or what General abstains from plundering
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a neutral Country, when the Necessities of War require it, and he cannot otherwise maintain his Army? The Case is the same with the Duty of Obedience to Magistrates; and common Sense teaches us, that as Government obliges to Obedience only on Account of its Tendency to public Utility, it must always, in extraordinary Cases, when public Ruin would evidently attend Obedience, yield to the primary and original Obligation. *Salus Populi suprema Lex*, the Safety of the People is the supreme Law. This Maxim is agreeable to the Sentiments of Mankind in all Ages: Nor is any one, when he reads of the Insurrections against a *Nero*, or a *Caracalla*, so infatuated with Party-Systems, as not to wish Success to the Enterprize, and praise the Undertakers. Even our high monarchical Party, in spite of their sublime Theory, are forc'd, in such Cases, to judge, and think, and approve, in Conformity to the rest of Mankind.

RESISTANCE, therefore, being admitted in extraordinary Emergencies, the Question can only be, amongst good Reasoners, with regard to the Degree of Necessity, which can justify Resistance, and render it lawful or commendable. And here I must confess, that I shall always incline to their Side, who draw the Bond of Allegiance the closest possible, and consider an Infringement of it, as the last Refuge, in desperate Cases, when the public is in the highest Danger, from a cruel and abandon'd Tyranny. For besides the Mischiefs of a civil War, which commonly attend Insurrection; 'tis certain, that where a Disposition to Rebel-

bellion appears amongst any People, it is one chief Chief Cause of Tyranny in the Rulers, and forces them into many violent Measures, which they never would have embrac'd, if every one had seem'd inclin'd to Submission and Obedience. 'Tis thus the *Tyrannicide* or Assassination, approv'd of by ancient Maxims, instead of keeping Tyrants and Usurpers in Awe, made them ten times more fierce and unrelenting; and is now justly, upon that Account, abolish'd by the Laws of Nations, and universally condemn'd as a base and treacherous Method of bringing to Justice these Disturbers of Society.

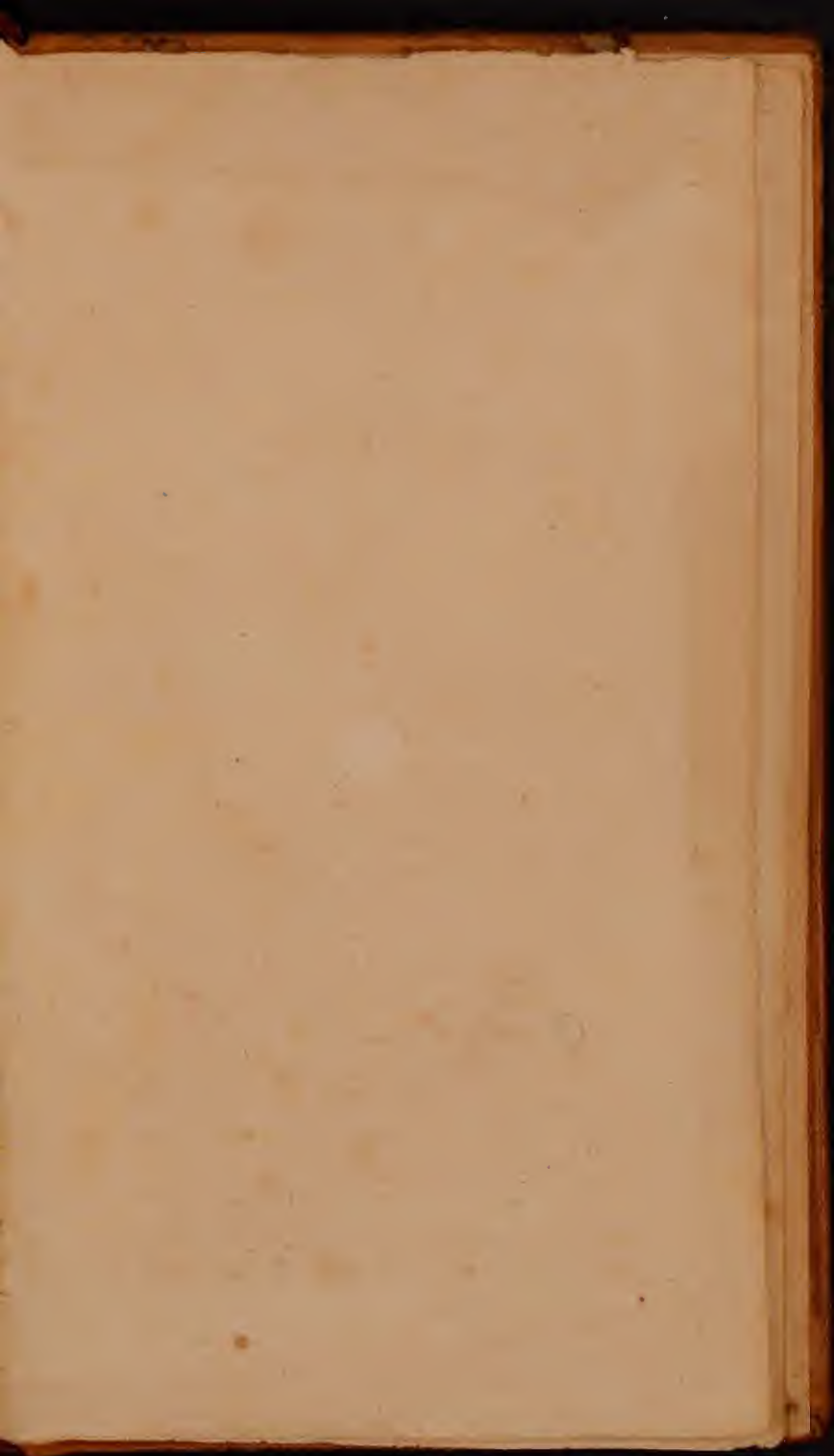
BESIDES; we must consider, that as Obedience is our Duty in the common Course of Things, it ought chiefly to be inculcated; nor can any thing be more preposterous than an anxious Care and Sollicitude in stating all the Cases, wherein Resistance may be allow'd. Thus, tho' a Philosopher reasonably acknowledges, in the Course of an Argument, that the Rules of Justice may be dispensed with in Cases of urgent Necessity; what should we think of a Preacher or Casuist, who should make it his chief Study to find out such Cases, and enforce them with all the Vehemence of Argument and Eloquence? Would he not be better employ'd in preaching up the general Doctrine, than in displaying the particular Exceptions, which we are, perhaps, but too much inclin'd, of ourselves, to embrace, and to extend?

THERE are, however, two Reasons, which may be pleaded in Defence of that Party amongst us, who
have,

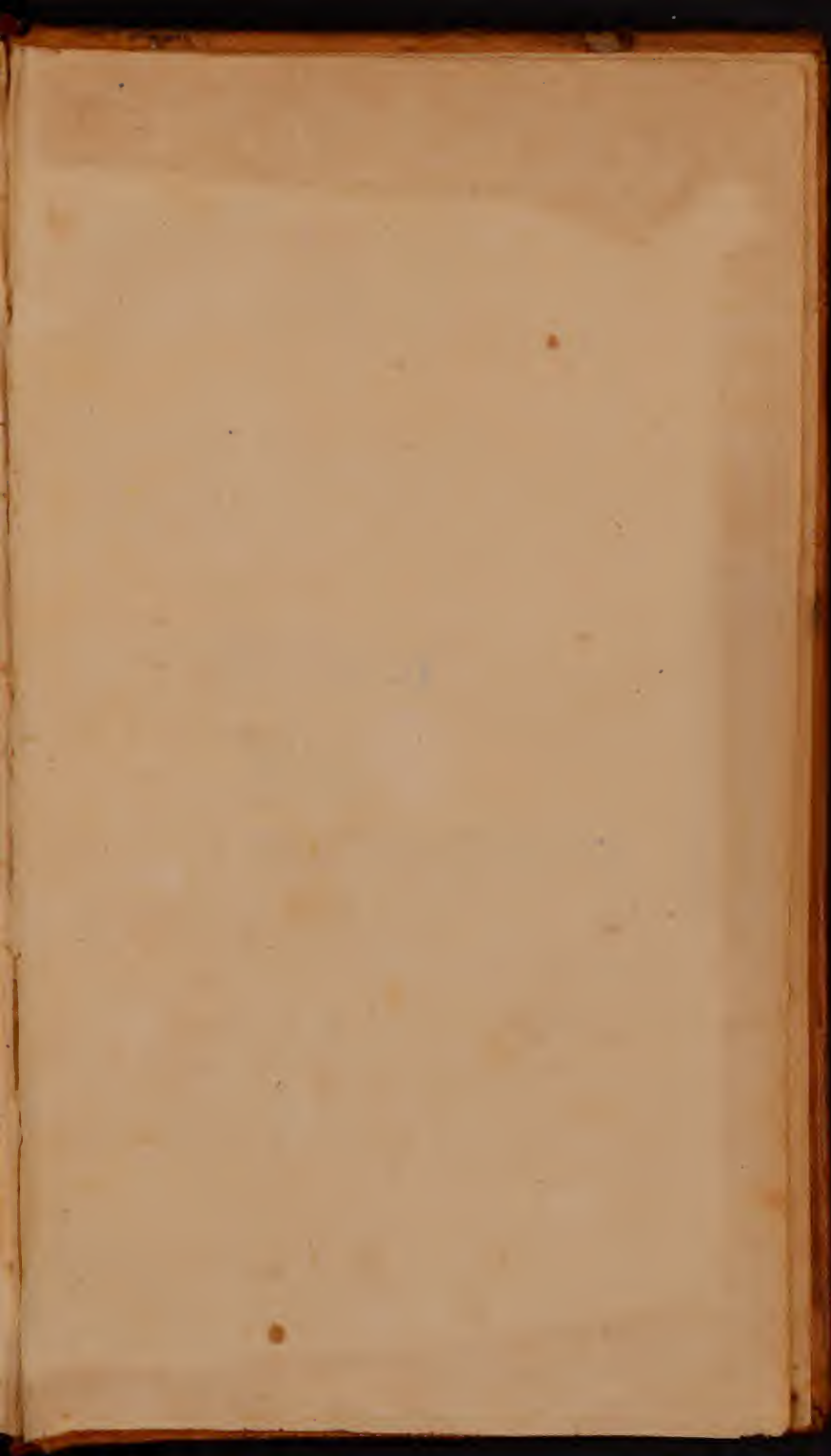
have, with so much Industry, propagated the Maxims of Resistance; Maxims, which, it must be confess'd, are, in general, so pernicious, and so destructive of all civil Society. The *first* is, that their Antagonists carrying the Doctrine of Obedience to such an extravagant Height, as not only never to mention the Exception in extraordinary Cases (which might, perhaps, be excusable) but even positively to exclude it; it became necessary to insist on these Exceptions, and defend the Rights of injur'd Truth and Liberty. The *second*, and, perhaps, better Reason, is founded on the Nature of the *British* Constitution and Form of Government.

'Tis almost peculiar to our Constitution to establish a first Magistrate with such high Pre-eminence and Dignity, that, tho' limited by the Laws, he is, in a Manner, as far as regards his own Person, above the Laws, and can neither be questioned nor punished for any Injury or Wrong, which may be committed by him. His Ministers alone, or those who act by his Commission, are obnoxious to Justice; and while the Prince is thus allur'd, by the Prospect of personal Safety, to give the Laws their free Course, an equal Security is, in effect, obtain'd, by the Punishment of the lesser Offenders, and at the same Time a civil War is avoided, which would be the infallible Consequence, were an Attack, at every Turn, made directly upon the Sovereign. But tho' the Constitution pays this salutary Compliment to the Prince, it can never reasonably be understood, by that Maxim, to have determin'd its own Destruction, or to have establish'd a
tame

tame Submission, where he protects his Ministers, perseveres in his Injustice, and usurps the whole Power of the Commonwealth. This Case, indeed, is never expressly put by the Laws ; because it is impossible for them, in their ordinary Course, to provide a Remedy for it, or establish any Magistrate, with superior Authority, to chastise the exorbitancies of the Prince. But as a Right without a Remedy would be the greatest of all Absurdities ; the Remedy, in this Case, is the extraordinary one of Resistance, when Affairs come to that Extremity, that the Constitution can alone be defended by it. Resistance, therefore, must, of course, become more frequent in the *British* Government, than in others, which are simpler, and consist of fewer Parts and Movements. Where the King is the sole Sovereign of the State, he has little Temptation to commit such enormous Tyranny as may justly provoke Rebellion : But where he is limited, his imprudent Ambition, without any great Vices, may run him into that perillous Situation. This was evidently the Case with *Charles* the First ; and if we may now speak Truth, after Animosities are laid, this was also the Case with *James* the Second. These were harmless, if not, in their private Character, good Men ; but mistaking the Nature of our Constitution, and engrossing the whole legislative Power, it became necessary to oppose them with some Vehemence ; and even to deprive the latter formally of that Authority, which he had used with such Imprudence and Indiscretion.



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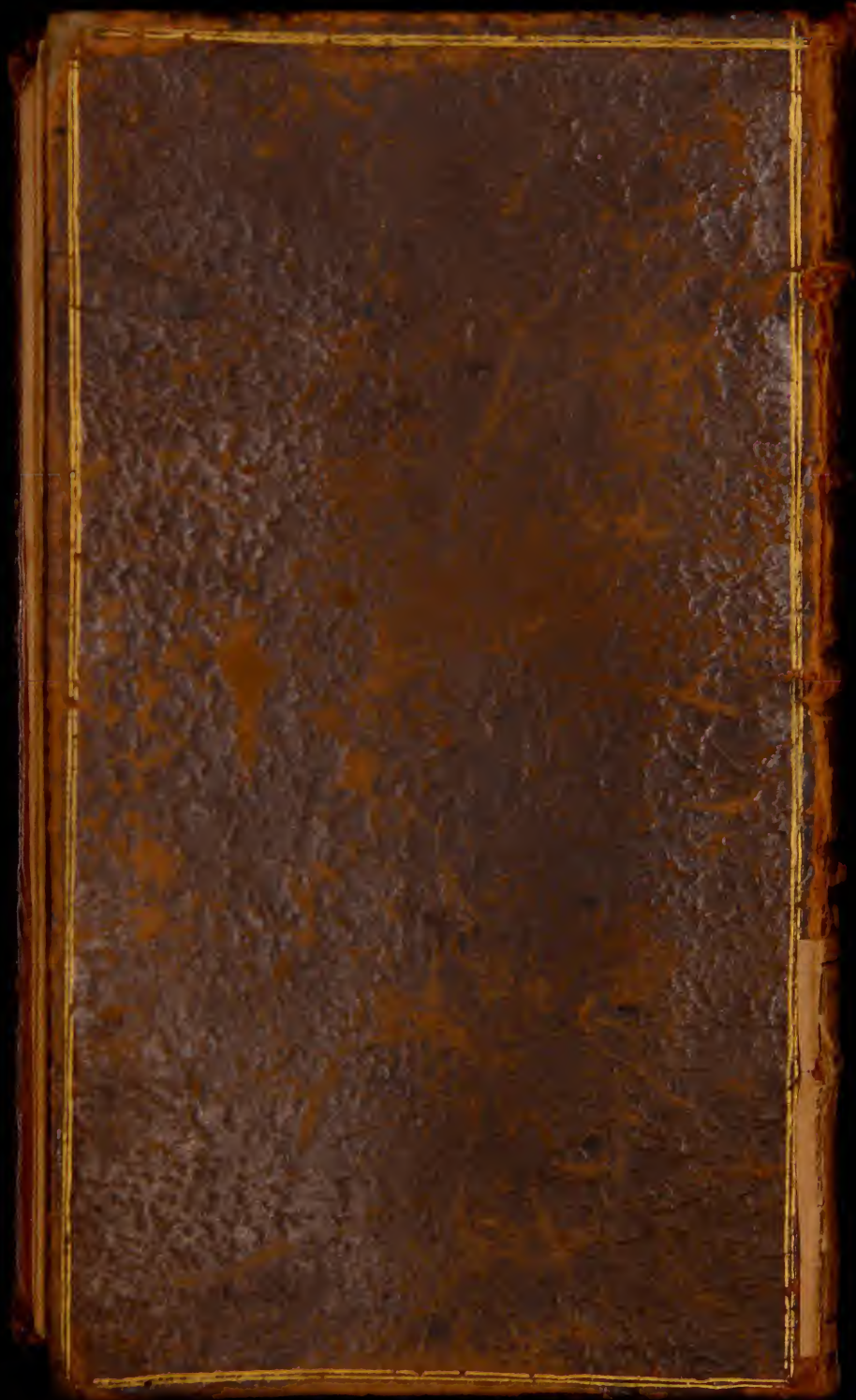
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Orators aspire to. How absurd would it appear, in our temperate and calm Speakers, to make use of an *Apostrophe*, like that noble one of *Demosthenes*, so much celebrated by *Quintilian* and *Longinus*, when, justifying the unsuccessful Battle of *Chæronæa*, he breaks out, *No, my Fellow-Citizens, No: You have not err'd. I swear by the Manes of those Heroes, who fought for the same Cause in the Plains of MARATHON and PLATÆA.* Who could now endure such a bold and poetical Figure, as that which *Cicero* employs, after describing in the most tragical Terms the Crucifixion of a Roman Citizen. *Should I paint the Horrors of this Scene, not to Roman Citizens, not to the Allies of our State, not to those who have ever heard of the Roman Name, not even to Men, but to Brute-Creatures; or, to go farther, should I lift up my Voice, in the most desolate Solitude, to the Rocks and Mountains, yet should I surely see those rude and inanimate Parts of Nature mov'd with Horror and Indignation at the Recital of so enormous an Action †.* With what a Blaze of Eloquence must such a Sentence be surrounded to give it Grace, or cause it to make any Impression on the Hearers! And what noble Art and sublime Talents are requisite to arrive, by just Degrees, at a Sentiment so bold and excessive: To inflame

† *The Original is; Quod si hæc non ad cives Romanos, non ad aliquos amicos nostræ civitatis, non ad eos qui populi Romani nomen audissent; denique, si non ad homines, veram ad bestias; aut etiam, ut longius progrediar, si in aliqua desertissima solitudine, ad saxa & ad scopulos hæc conqueri & deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima, tanta & tam indigna rerum atrocitate commoverentur.* Cic. in Ver.

the Audience, so as to make them accompany the Speaker in such violent Passions, and such elevated Conceptions: And to conceal, under a Torrent of Eloquence, the Artifice, by which all this is effectuated!

SUITABLE to this Vehemence of Thought and Expression, was the Vehemence of Action, observed in the ancient Orators. The *supplicatio pedis*, or stamping with the Foot, was one of the most usual and moderate Gestures they made use of †; tho' that is now esteem'd too violent, either for the Senate, Bar, or Pulpit, and is only admitted into the Theatre, to accompany the most violent Passions, that are there represented.

I AM somewhat at a Loss to what Cause we may ascribe so sensible a Decline of Eloquence in latter Ages. The Genius of Mankind, at all Times, is, perhaps, equal: The Moderns have applied themselves, with great Industry and Success, to all the other Arts and Sciences: And one of the most learned Nations of the Universe possesses a popular Government; which seems requisite for the full Display of these noble Talents: But notwithstanding all these Advantages, our Progress in Eloquence is very incon-

† *Ubi dolor? Ubi ardor animi, qui etiam ex infantium ingentibus elicere voces & querelas solet? nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis; frons non percussa, non femur; pedis (quod minimum est) nulla supplicatio.* Itaque tantum abfuit ut inflammare nostros animos; somnum isto loco vix tenebamus.

Cicero de Claris Oratoribus.

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